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Without Concealment—Without Compromise.

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SELECTIONS.

From the Pennsylvania Freeman.

A few months since the Friends' Anti-Slavery Association of this city, addressed a letter to "The British India Society," requesting information concerning the objects contemplated by its members, and the measures they intended to pursue. The following letter, written by its Corresponding Secretary, Professor Wm. Adam, in reply to the enquiries made by the Association, has lately been received. Cordially approving what we understand to be the objects of the Society—not only on account of the benevolence of the enterprise in itself, but also because we are persuaded it will have a highly important and favorable bearing upon the anti-slavery cause in this country—and believing that a large portion of the American philanthropists feel a deep interest in the subject, we have thought it proper to lay the letter before them—as it gives a more comprehensive view of the whole question than we have before seen.

The Committee of the Association.

TO THE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS

for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, Philadelphia:

RESPECTED FRIENDS,—Your letter addressed to the British India Society, dated the third of July of the present year, signed by Caleb Clothier and Anne Churchman, Clerks, was received through Mr. Thompson on the 11th instant, and was submitted on the same day to a committee of the Society. The following resolution was accordingly passed:

"That the Secretary be instructed to communicate to our friends at Philadelphia the gratification with which their letter has been received, to draw up for their use a statement of the objects of the Society, and to request their friendly co-operation and pecuniary assistance."

In fulfilment of these instructions, I have the pleasure of enclosing various printed papers, illustrative of the objects of the Society, and adding such further explanations as may appear necessary to a full understanding of its position.

In order to appreciate the nature and objects of the British India Society, it is necessary to advert to the position of the English in India, the system established for the government of that country, and the state of public opinion in England on questions bearing on its welfare.

I mention the fact that the English are the conquerers of India and hold possession of it by the sword, not for the purpose of claiming or expecting your approval of such a state of things, but in order to intimate that, whether the means and the result be approved or disapproved, it is no part of the object of the British India Society to call in question the English right of possession of India. The British India Society without any retrospect, which would be practically useless, looks only at the existing condition of India, and aims to substitute the rule of affection for that of force, and to identify the interests of the governed with the duties of the governors. This is believed to be attainable, notwithstanding the numerous points of repugnance between the European and Asiatic races; and its attainment would equally tend to strengthen the authority of England by placing it on the securest basis, and to promote the happiness and improvement of the Indian people, by making their happiness and improvement the direct and paramount objects of the English Government. This, then, may be received as the most general expression of the object of the Society, embracing every specific object which it contemplates; and its importance cannot be justly estimated, without considering that a government established and maintained by force, will probably be, and in fact has been in India, exercised for the benefit of the rulers and not for the benefit of the people. To propose, therefore, to rule the people of India, by attaching their affections, instead of compelling their submission; to rule them for the common and equal benefit of India and England, instead of the exclusive benefit of England alone, is to propose, not indeed what is new and unheard of, for there have been good and great men concerned in the management of Indian affairs, who have fully recognized the principle, but what is insufficiently recognized in the framework of the British Indian government and in its actual administration. It is to propose to place England and India and every Englishman and native in India, in totally different relative positions from those which they now occupy, with equal civil rights, and equal social advantages. It is to propose to abolish the distinctions of conquerors and conquered, and to unite both nations and both races in common interests and common sympathies. The direct effect of this on the happiness of the Indian people would be eminently salutary, and its indirect effect in preventing future wars of aggression and conquest, would be equally beneficial, since the true strength of the British India government would be found not in the extension of its territory, but in the cordial attachment of its subjects and allies.

The Home government of India is exercised in different degrees, by the proprietors of India stock, by the Court of Directors, by the Board of Control, and by Parliament.—The proprietors of India stock derive this designation from the fact that they originally constituted the mercantile body called the East India Company, and they retain the title although their mercantile character has ceased, and although the dividends they receive are fixed, and invariable in amount, and are paid to them, not from the profits of trade, but from the revenues of India. The Directors are chosen by the proprietors, and they possess almost exclusively the primary patronage to office in India, and by written instructions, guide and control the acts of the different India governments. The Board of Control is a Board of Commissioners, appointed by the Crown to superintend and control, on the part of the Crown, the Court of Directors and the Indian governments. Finally, all the legislative acts of the Indian governments are periodically laid before Parliament, which has the right to institute inquiry into any particular measure that may have been adopted, into any system of policy that may have been pursued, or into the whole constitution of government that has been established for India. Without imputing to any of those bodies, or to the individuals composing them, any motives different from those which would most probably influence the rest of mankind, under similar circumstances, it may be confidently affirmed that none of them contain any sufficient guarantees for securing good government to India. The proprietors are private individuals, who have chiefly purchased India stock as an advantageous mode of investing capital. Some of them are residents in India, some on the continent of Europe, and most of them resident in England, take little interest in Indian affairs. When a few, resident in London, assemble in general Court, it is notorious how small the practical influence which they exercise over the Court of Directors. The Directors are a still smaller body of private persons, who, however estimable in their individual persons and character, are often unqualified by appropriate knowledge and experience for the government of 100 millions of British subjects, and, however qualified, conducting all their deliberations in strict secrecy. The Board of Control is resolved into a single individual, its President, a responsible Minister of the Crown, and consequently tempted to watch more narrowly the movements of party politics, than the measures of the Court of Directors, or the Indian governments, whilst Parliament, instead of having any time or attention to spare for India, is notoriously overwhelmed by the details of the foreign and domestic politics of England. The British India Society looks to the Home government of India, as it is actually found to exist, and proposes, by all the just influences that can be employed, to obtain from it a proper consideration for the rights and grievances of the people of India. Each of the bodies that have been mentioned, is open to distinct and appropriate influences, tending to stimulate them to fill the sphere assigned to each, to increase their information, to reprove their negligence, to correct their injustice, and to arouse them to a deeper and more pervading sense of public duty, and of moral responsibility for the just and equal government of a great empire. It is these useful influences which the Society desires to call into active exercise, by originating discussions on Indian questions, through means of the press and of Parliament, and by gradually making the rulers of India feel and know that the eye of England and of the world is upon them, to watch every measure, and to condemn with unsparing fidelity, every act of oppression, and every neglect of duty.

Distinct from the influence to be exercised over those who have legislative, executive, or controlling duties in the government of India, is that by which it is sought to enlighten the public mind on the subject of India, and to interest the people of England generally in the just administration of its affairs. Properly viewed, as the East India Company and its local governments are responsible to the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain, so the Ministers of the Crown and the Imperial Legislature are responsible to the people of England, and the people of England to the civilized world, for the good government of India. It is the constituency of England who are the actual rulers of India, through those to whom the immediate power of government has been delegated, yet the people of England live and act as if this double responsibility did not exist, as if, on the one hand, the East India Company and the Ministers of the Crown owed them no account, and as if they themselves owed no account to mankind of the manner in which India is governed. The causes of this apathy are to be found in the multiplicity and urgent nature of the questions of domestic policy in England, the remoteness of India, the peculiar position of the English in that country, and the prevailing want of information respecting the condition of the people, and the character of the government. The removal of this apathy, however produced, is one of the objects of the British India Society, since there can be no hope of good government for India, until the constituency of England are awakened to a just sense of the high duties devolving on them through their connection with India.—When the electors of England are rendered alive to their responsibilities, there will be little difficulty in imbuing Ministers and Parliament, the East India Company, and the governments of India with the same spirit. For this purpose, besides originating discussions in Parliament and through the press, lectures also have been delivered, and are in progress of delivery thoughout England and Scotland, from which the happiest effects are anticipated in diffusing information, and in creating a deep and heart-felt desire to remedy the wrongs and maintain the rights of the people of India.

It thus appears that by influencing public opinion in England, the British India Society hopes to influence the deliberations of Parliament, the measures of her Majesty's Ministers, and the acts of the East India Company's government, so as to secure to the people of India a greater amount of those advantages which they are entitled to expect from their intimate connection with the people and government of Great Britain.

The British India Society is profoundly convinced that consistency, as well as justice and humanity, requires Great Britain to pursue a conciliatory and civilizing course in the East, and they readily admit that within the past ten years there have been in the internal administration of India, indications of a change tending to such a result, leaving much, very much, however, still to be accomplished, and leaving its external policy distinguished even in a higher degree than at former times, by its aggressive and encroaching character. To stimulate every good intention towards the natives of India, and to promote every useful measure, will not less engage their attention than to protest against and oppose, by every lawful means, every system of policy or administration inconsistent with the duty which Great Britain owes to them.

The attention which the ruling authorities of India, both at home and abroad, and which the public, both of England and India, are now giving to the productive resources of that country, is one of the most gratifying circumstances of the present times, in connection with the objects of the British India Society. With a wise foresight you also perceive and acknowledge how important it will be to the objects of your association, the abolition of American slavery, that cotton and other products raised in America by the toil of the bondman, should be cultivated extensively in India for exportation to the European markets. The British India Society rejoice, that while primarily seeking to discharge, and urge others to discharge, a sacred duty to the people of India, they are, in the estimation of the best friends of humanity in America, practically and effectually co-operating in their noble and self-sacrificing efforts to extinguish slavery in the United States; and they cannot but consider that the virtual union of two such designs, originating with different individuals, and in different countries, and principally contemplating different and remote localities and races, is one of the most striking illustrations of the intimate relation which Providence has established between the most distant members of the great family of nations, showing that the good of one is for the good of all, and encouraging us to hope in the ultimate and successful accomplishment of the purposes we have respectively in view.

The resolution already quoted, intimates the need in which the British India Society stands of pecuniary assistance, but on this part of the subject I am unwilling to dwell. The Society has no party or sectarian objects, and therefore does not receive the support of those who make party or sect every thing. The Society has also powerful influences opposed to it—indirect in the general want of information and consequent apathy on Indian subjects—direct and positive in the interests that are assailed, or that suppose themselves assailed, in claiming good government for India; and in the misapprehensions and misrepresentations of uninformed or half-informed but well meaning persons. In the steady pursuit of their great object, the Society has had to depend upon the liberal support of a few enlightened individuals, who do not permit partial interests or views to obscure their judgments, or narrow their exertions; and therefore, any assistance which you and your countrymen and women may have it in your power to give, will be appreciated at once as a mark of your sympathy in our labors, and as an acceptable contribution towards their success.

I am, with sentiments of high consideration and esteem, your friend and servant,

W. ADAM,
Secretary of the British India Society.

British India Society's Office, London,
80 King William st., Dec. 30, 1840.

From the National Intelligencer.

To the Hon. John Bell, Secretary of War.

WASHINGTON, March 24, 1841.

SIR:—Two opinions are before you as to the best means of settling the war in Florida: the one advocating continuous, unceasing, unmitigated, and exterminating war; the other, the employment of messengers of peace, at least as a *first* movement. I proceed now, as promised in my last, to discuss the abstract merits of those two opinions.

I am aware, sir, that the same means are not suited to the accomplishment of the same ends in *all* things. Water is understood to be, as a common agent, the extinguisher of fire, and yet water is a chief agent in producing volcanic and fiery eruptions. Our business is not, however, with matter as matter, or the affinities of matter, or with its properties. It is with thinking beings—intelligent beings—with men, sir, who are like ourselves. For, whatever may be the opinion of some, that Indians are not men, (and from the treatment they have received, we are borne out in the conclusion that they are considered by some, at least, as not within the pale of human beings, and therefore not entitled to human treatment or human sympathies,) I shall so consider them, and I believe the great mass of mankind will agree that they should be so considered. Well, then, Indians being men, we have but to appeal to our own consciousness, and ask, what means are those which operate most effectually to allay our excitements and subdue our rage? Will power, moulded into the form of oppression, thus operate? Let the spirits of the illustrious dead, who in 1776 resisted power thus fashioned, and resisted still, onward through a bloody war of seven years, answer. Will affronts and insults? Never. Will force—overwhelming force? Ah, yes, sir, that may conquer, but even that cannot *subdue*. It may enslave, but can never make a *friend*. It may exterminate—annihilate. I admit this. But I say it can do this only when it can command a field for its action, and a place for a tomb for its victims. Can that place be found in Florida? or in those retreats where the Seminole ambuscades himself? Is there any place there for force, overwhelming force, to stand upon? Any fulcrum upon which to rest the engines of its power? No, sir, there is not; or, if there is, the science and skill and research, of Scott and Gaines, and Clinch, have not, with the aid of others who have succeeded or preceded them, found it out, even to this hour, though so many years have been consumed in looking for it. But, sir, I will suppose these Seminoles to be accessible to our arm. Which of the two modes of restoring peace between them and us would be most likely to prevail? Even in this view of the subject, the peaceful method which I advocate, would be the most certain to subdue; or, if it were easier to shoot them down, till the last man was made to bite the dust, in what age of the world would the murderous resort be adopted, and the peaceful, as a first step, rejected? Humanity, Christianity, sir, with a voice that may be heard over the length and breadth of the land, answers, "*not in this—not in this.*"—No, thank God! The age of barbarism is gone by with us, and the language, "*Blessed are the peacemakers,*" &c. falls like heavenly accents, as they are, upon our ears.—And, sir, if peaceful remedies are not the most certain to accomplish the ends of peace, why have they been made the themes of fable? Why made to enrich the sacred oracles? Why have they been impressed upon the constitution and temperaments of beasts as well as men. Of fable, did I say? Yes, sir, fable. Your correspondent will find in *Æsop*, a book fraught with wisdom, that a contest once arose between two of the natural elements, and the question was, which could soonest dispossess the traveller of his cloak. *Force*, in the form of storm, and hurricane, and tempest, opened the contest; but it only served to make the traveller wrap his cloak more closely and securely about him. Gentleness—mildness—in the form of a calm and genial influence, followed, when the cloak was thrown off, and the contest was ended. The moral is, that peaceful and gentle, and the milder influences are more operative in overcoming resistance among human beings, than are those which are harsher and rougher. Wherefore do we read in the book indited by the God who made us, and who knows best what elements we are made of, and what means to employ for their regulation and control—"If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head;" or, in other words, thou shalt *subdue him*. I say, wherefore was this beautiful instruction given to us by our Maker, if an opposite course would be better? But, sir, this lovely and harmonizing *law of kindness* is impressed even upon beasts. It is seen and felt every where. We see it in its effects upon the elephant, who cannot be altogether unconscious of his power. Is he lured or driven into the pitfall, we learn that, in capturing him there, two parties are present, as two are now before you, sir. The one employs force, and spears and tortures the animal; the other interferes, and drives these torturers off. The enraged monster resists, and aims his blows for the destruction of his *oppressors*, but throws himself as a little child into the possession and keeping and guidance of his merciful protectors and peace-loving friends. Nothing, sir, is insensible to this law of kindness; and wherefore should the Indian be? Sir, I assert it, and I speak from many years of personal intercourse with this people—I assert it in the name of the history of *all* the past, from the landing at Plymouth and Jamestown to this hour, (and, did time and space authorize it, I would produce the instances, which are as numerous as are the points of intercourse between the white and red man,) that the *law of kindness*, and the presence and action to a peaceful influence, are more operative upon the red man than the white. I could assign reasons for this peculiar susceptibility to this influence upon the Indian, if I had time. And, sir, for the same reasons they are more revengeful. The main element of this marked difference (difference in *degree*, I mean) is to be found in the afflictions which these people have been made to endure, and in their isolated and almost unbefriended state. How soothing to persons thus circumstanced is the voice of a friend! How welcome is kindness, and how overpowering to the storm-beaten and buffeted, the exile and the long-deserted, are the accents of a sustaining friendship! And how fierce, upon the other hand, and how deadly, is the hate of the pursued and persecuted, who feel that in their own might only can they secure right!

It were easy, sir, to write a volume upon this subject.—But I must conclude (being cramped within the limits of a newspaper column) this part of my duty—for I feel it to be my duty to you, sir, and to my country, to its humanity, to its Christian spirit, to Florida and its sufferings, to the Indians and their wrongs, to have taken up this subject. I wish it had fallen into abler hands!

In conclusion, if you follow the counsels of your adviser, "Florida," and continue the war, you will not only disappoint the awakened hopes and just expectations of the people; for, sir, they expect the entire system of our Indian relations will be changed, and changed speedily; but you shut, and *for ever*, (at least against this Administration,) the doorway to pacific overture; whereas, if you commence with peaceful overtures, you have the war-bolt in your hand afterwards, and the way *wide* open for its use.

In my next I shall vindicate the Cherokee Indians and their mission to the Seminoles from the odium which your correspondent would seem to have meant to cast upon them. I will unmask that whole business. The portion of your correspondent's remarks to you to which I allude, are these: "I have yet to learn wherein the Cherokee diplomatists rendered any, the least service, that so vauntingly claimed," &c. I will tell him; and I will tell him also, *wherein* they failed to secure a peace.

It is time the public mind was enlightened upon this more than Roman offering of the noble and generous-hearted Cherokee Chief and his enlightened confederates in that work of mercy.

WM. PENN.

The following extract of a letter from a citizen of Ill. to his friend in this city has been in our possession some time, under a promise to publish it, which we have not been able to redeem until now.—*Nat. Intell.*

ILLINOIS, Feb. 12, 1841.

After surveying the field again and again, politically, morally, religiously, and, in every form and attitude the subject can be contemplated, I can arrive at but one conclusion, that political *parties*, organized as such, with all the wheels and springs of political machinery in operation, are, necessarily, inherently, and wholly *corrupt*. They cannot be made otherwise. They furnish the fullest evidence of entire, *total*—yea, TE-TOTAL DEPRAVITY. It cannot be otherwise. I care not what principles they avow, Democrat, Whig, Republican, Federal, State Rights, Union, or what not, they are necessarily, inherently, and *per se* corrupt, destructive to liberty, human rights, democracy, equity, justice, and every thing that is dear to man. The only case where an *organized political party*, with its party machinery, is in the least degree justifiable, is on the same principle that our farmers set back-fires around their fields when the prairie is on fire, to destroy an existing evil. But what farmer is fool enough to spend his time and strength, after a prairie fire has been destroyed, in gathering brushwood, and especially the rails of his cornfields, for the purpose of keeping up a backfire! If "OLD TIP," with his "leaders," and "led," will now turn to and annihilate the political parties, and make his Administration work exclusively and solely for the interests of the country—and the whole country—and truly and really restore the *Jefferson democratic* qualification for office. "Is he *capable?* Is he HONEST? *Is he a friend to the Constitution and country?*" though I did not vote for him, I will then vote that he be enrolled a second Washington—a real Savior of his country—especially if (as he has promised) he will "stay quit" at the end of four years, and use no influence about a "successor." Of course it is expected he will "upset" the present Cabinet, and turn out all those who have been "turned in" against the voice of the People, or who have proved themselves incompetent or dishonest. But if he and his adherents act out the New-York policy, as for thirty years has pertained to all parties, "to the victors belong the spoils," for the mere stating of which Gov. Marcy was much abused, then, Wo be to the country—to our liberties—and our Republican institutions! Old Tip & Co., now have the opportunity of breaking down party, and destroying party machinery, and if they do it, the PEOPLE will rejoice. If they do it not, then we are gone as a nation! My grandchildren will live under a military, or some worse despotism. Talk about MONOPOLIES!!! Of all the monopolies created or devised, none are so much to be watched and dreaded as that sort of machinery which, under cloak of democracy and the People, MONOPOLIZES the offices of the country. Of all unprincipled combinations, POLITICAL COMBINATIONS are the climax of evil. And what is an organized *political* party but a *combination* of the very worst sort? If a man was as pure as an angel of Heaven, in his political principles and motives if he will suffer himself to be yoked up in a political combination, throw himself into the vortex of its influence, think, act, and vote by the dictation of his leaders, or, if you please, become *one* of the *leaders*, he will inevitably become as *corrupt* as "*Auld Sam*" himself. He cannot help becoming both dishonest and corrupt. It is the law of Divine Providence, and the declaration of divine truth, that "Evil communications corrupt good manners."

From the Friend of Man.

SKANEATELES, 3d mo. 1, 1841.

Respected Friend, William Goodell:

Through the columns of the Friend of Man, I wish to address information to *all* the friends of the Canada mission, be they living where they may, relative to that important subject. I make choice of the Friend of Man, it being the organ of the New-York State Anti-Slavery Society, which delegated me to attend the World's Convention; and whose Executive Committee furnished the following:

"That we highly appreciate the benevolent efforts of Hiram Wilson and his self-denying associates in the work of establishing schools among the colored people in Canada, and we respectfully request James C. Fuller to present the claims of this interesting Christian charity to the attention of our philanthropic brethren and fellow-laborers in Great Britain.

WILLIAM GOODELL,
Rec. Sec. pro tem."

I did endeavor to present the claims these colored people have on freemen on British soil, and for the sole purpose of promoting education among them, I obtained sixteen hundred & seventy dollars. The attention of the friends and foes of this mission has been excited by the appearance in the National Anti-Slavery Standard, of January 28th, of a letter signed Peter Gallego, U. C., wherein it is stated:

"A more specious humbug was never attempted to be imposed upon the public. A feeling of indignation or of deep regret cannot but be excited to see the good cause of abolition, at a time when it most needs all the support that can be given it, assailed at once by internal dissensions and the selfishness of designing men. The people of this country [U. S.] are informed that no inconsiderable portion of the colored refugees in Canada, both in regard to intelligence and self-respect, highly disapprove the Canada Mission. First, because it seeks to withdraw funds from that quarter where pecuniary aid is most needed; and, secondly, because it misrepresents their real condition, by holding them up to the world as a *population of beggars*—a most discreditable circumstance, when contrasted with the reputation the colored people in the West Indies have acquired for themselves. In the World's Convention, by the side of Rev. Mr. Knibb, boasting that among his congregation there is not a single pauper, stand Messrs. Fuller and Leicester, detailing the most tiresome accounts of Hiram Wilson's adventures among the poverty-stricken colored people of Upper Canada, equally destitute of schools, religious instruction, and the very necessaries of life." ——"To represent that they are at all in the circumstances of *heathen* is equally unfounded in truth. Religious instruction is as accessible to them in Canada as to white persons in these United States or elsewhere in America. And as for schools, of which there are a number spread throughout the province, under the pay of government, into all of them, from Kings' College down to the common Lancasterian school, they are admitted on the same terms as white persons. There can be no difficulty on this head, as the government is pledged to admit of no distinction in the education of youth."

In the same Standard is an editorial, stating that the editor had "had several interviews with the writer, who appears to be a gentleman of observation and intelligence," and that he was informed that the money which I had collected "had not been distributed, because a large portion of the refugees are unwilling to receive it." In the next number of the Standard, its editor remarks, "Since the publication of Mr. Gallego's letter in our paper of last week, we have heard statements from other and various sources, confirmatory thereof, and, "Mr. Gallego further informed us that at a Convention of thirteen delegates, from eight towns, called expressly to decide what should be done with the money collected by Friend Fuller, there was so much disagreement on the subject, that they separated without arriving at any point but this,—☞ That it was a bone of dissension, and had better never been brought there."

For the well understanding of both sides of the question, it appears needful to furnish these quotations, and if Gallego be a man of veracity, and understands what he writes about, and writes the truth; then there has not been, nor is there now, any cause why the mission should be supported. Dr. Thomas Rolph, in the course of his remarks at the World's Convention, when speaking of Peter, described him as "about being ordained a clergyman—a gentleman whose capacity, vast attainments, and singular modesty command the regard of all who know him." Here, in addition to the editor of the Standard, who describes him as appearing to be "a gentleman of observation and intelligence," are enumerated three qualifications which I dare not claim to, yet I think I have capacity, attainments and modesty sufficient to assert and unequivocally prove that far the greater portion of Peter Gallego's remarks are not founded in truth, and if he does not know they are not, he ought not to have published that for truth and fact of which he is ignorant.

A moral and religious education, let the means come from where they may, whereby it is promoted, is no humbug, but a positive good. His sympathy is as much thrown away for the anti-slavery cause in his deploring its want of funds for prosecuting its labors in consequence of this mission being sustained, as it is idle wind to say that the anti-slavery cause is internally assailed by selfishness of designing men. The first feelings of many toward the anti-slavery cause of a friendly character have arisen from the circumstance of their having been enlisted in the promotion of the Canada mission, and eventually have united, heart and purse, to the overthrow of slavery. I have visited, I believe, most of the settlements of the colored people in Canada, and am justified in saying that it is a very, very inconsiderable portion, if so small a fragment be worthy of the name, who disapprove of the mission. The great bulk of the people are glad of, and truly thankful for, the advantages they reap from the scoools. It is all moonshine to say that they have been held up as a *population of beggars*, and not fair by any means to draw comparisons between the Canada colored people and Wm. Knibb's congregation, or with the emancipated in the West Indies, as respects moral culture.—What denomination of Christians of old England has not kept open and well occupied an extensive field of missionary and education labor? And in what portion of the Lord's footstool has his blessing been more abundantly showered down? It is true we have our Wilson and his colleagues in Canada, and the latter I confine not to white men. But where are our Knibbs, Clarkes, Stimson, and a large host of such men stationed solely for their benefit? Again, the colored people on the islands are as much the bone and sinew of them, and the producers of all the necessaries of life, as are the cultivators of the soil in the United States, and one class could be as well dispensed with as the other; in either case, ruin would inevitably follow to the whole of the community. It is not so with those of whom I am writing. It is not going too far to say that the refugee is not wanted in Canada. Were he, he would be treated differently by the people generally. I am aware British law makes no distinction on account of complexion, but hell-begotten American prejudice is fostered in Canada, and the colored people are driven by it to set up the "Colored Village"—the negro village, as a suburb to the white man's domicile, and this distinction being kept up in church and civil society, of course the colored children are excluded from the common schools, Peter Gallego to the contrary notwithstanding. Peter knows, or ought to know, and if he does not know, it clearly appears how little interest he takes to ascertain the actual condition of people of his own color in Canada, as respects the education of the rising generation, and as he was assisted in part by means from this side the frontiers for the procurement of his education, one would suppose he need not be so very jealous on account of others. Peter says colored children are admitted on the same terms as whites, from Kings' College down to the common school; to use one of his own phrases, "the assertion is destitute of truth." There are but few, if any, admitted into common schools, and as to means for entering Kings' College, it is not yet within the reach of but very few—comparatively none. As this is the main point at issue, it may be well to state something more than our mere say-so. In March, 1840, at a large convention of the colored people held at Ancaster, the following resolve was passed:

"That although the British Constitution draws no distinction between the sons of Adam, of whatever complexion their skin may be, extending to all equal justice and protection; yet we feel that we are practically denied such blessings and advantages by being excluded from the district and other schools, on account of color, and debarred the privilege of intermixing with our other fellow-creatures in the house of God—thereby visiting upon us the same unchristianlike treatment that our brethren are forced to submit to in the neighboring Republic."

Again, Dr. Thomas Rolph, as Chairman of the Committee appointed by the World's Convention to consider of the situation of the negro population of Upper Canada, among other matter, reported as follows:

"And whereas public provision has been made in the different districts of Upper Canada, for the purpose of education; and schools having been opened to which the colored people have been invited by the Lieutenant Governor of the province, and whereas the odious unchristian prejudice against color has operated most detrimentally in frustrating the desires of the Government, by virtually excluding colored persons from these schools, this committee strongly recommend the Convention to address the Colonial Minister, requesting that he would issue such instructions as may insure to the colored population of Upper Canada the benefit and blessings of education in common with the white inhabitants of the province."

Peter says, "there is no difficulty on this head." What say the colored people themselves assembled in Convention? What said the World's Convention when it accepted and adopted the report of its Committee? And yet Peter says colored children are admitted on the same terms as whites. What is the truth and where does it lie? Peter errs so grossly that it naturally will follow that suspicion will rest on his other assertions, for most of them have no better foundation. He charges me in the Convention in London of detailing the most tiresome accounts concerning the colored people. "The assertion is destitute of truth." There is not a particle of truth in it, as I did not detail any account or circumstance, but what detail was given by Rolph, and particularly Lester, most deeply affected the Convention, and by neither of these speakers were the colored people described as HEATHEN, and yet had neither of these mentioned that many of the refugees from this "Christian Republic where there are over two millions of human beings in the condition of heathen, and in some respects in a worse condition, and will bear comparison with heathen in any country of the world," had stated that some of them were heathen might not have much missed the mark. I am heart-glad, my very soul rejoices in the moral and religious condition of the colored people of Canada, and I would that their temporal one was equally good. As a people, they are in my opinion full fifty feet ahead of the so-called free colored people of America. In the city of Toronto, it will occupy a man months to discover a colored man in liquor. This fact I had from one who had been engaged in making the observation. It should be borne in recollection that in the city of Toronto there about 800 colored persons. They are, as a whole, extremely desirous of acquiring knowledge for themselves and their little ones, and are willing and desirous that white children in their respective neighborhoods should be equal participants with them in reaping the advantages of school learning.

There is not in all Canada a school with which Hiram Wilson is concerned, or over which the colored people have control, but is open to white children on the same terms as those for colored children—no complexional prejudice is created, or fostered by the Canada mission.

I sat, I drank, I slept, under their hospitable roof, and I trust, worshipped with them; and looked back with solid satisfaction to the time I spent among them, and should any of my abolition friends contemplate a summer tour either in pursuit of health or pleasure, they may there find both of a better kind perhaps than at our places of fashionable resort. They are, I think so far as circumstances admit, a "church going people," and those who love good choir singing will be gratified by visiting them, particularly at Saint Catherine. It may not be amiss to remark that wherever I partook of food at their houses, a blessing was always asked, and as opportunity offered, I witnessed the family altar reared and surrounded both morning and evening. The more is known of this interesting portion of the human family, the more interest will be felt for their welfare. They are through mercy redeemed from—Christian Republic—American Heathenism!! And they have wits sharp enough, "when the clear silver was rung on their ears," to be willing to have it appropriated to the object for which it was collected; not as Peter and one or two others, who, I learnt, wanted $1600 to purchase a printing-press, and commence a newspaper. So far as concerns the fund over which I hold control, that scheme is no go. As to its being a "bone of discord" at a meeting called expressly to decide what should be done with the money, I may say, *no such meeting was ever called or held.* A Convention was held according to adjournment at Brantford, first "Monday" in the present year, the day of meeting being fixed long before I went to England. At it the subject of funds was discussed, as a matter of course. Feeling my mind drawn into sympathy with the colored people who might be assembled, as well as with those who might tarry at home with the stuff, I saluted them with an epistle of advice and condolence, which was, I learn, well received, and from another source am informed that "discord" was there. "The most, or all of it arose from the little learned friend at Toronto, who, I consider a dead enemy to the colored people's interest." Thus writes a colored man on the breaking up of the Convention. From another quarter I learn that the Convention passed resolutions "applauding Hiram Wilson, etc." "When the subject of funds collected was under consideration of the Convention, on account of the small number of delegates in attendance," it was thought best to defer all action on money matters until the special Convention to be held in London, U. C., in June next. An effort will be made to have every portion of colored people in Canada represented in that Convention. It is also intended that leading abolitionists from the United States be invited to attend." I apprehend the subject of education will be a prominent feature in the doings of the June Convention, and peradventure that of the proposed emigration to one or more of the West India Islands may come under close consideration, but as this alone is a copious subject, will say nothing farther of it than counsels and advice of "leading abolitionists," may do them good. Who will go to the Convention? One volunteer is worth two pressed men. Before concluding, I will add, with the exception of 3 or 4 colored men at Toronto, I know not of one but would rejoice at the establishment of a manual labor school, but if such a school is to be established at the cost of pulling down the present schools, it would be extremely difficult to find a man who would give countenance to the idea. The question is oftentimes asked, "How many colored people are there in Canada?" The government in its enumeration of people makes no distinction on account of complexion, therefore the colored people took a census of themselves and although some towns and townships did not send in their returns, yet on the 11th March, 1840, their number as reported, was twelve thousand five hundred and eleven. It is shrewdly guessed that from 800 to 1000 are annually added by emigration.

A few days before I was at St. Catharine, thirteen fugitives arrived via Lake Erie and Welland Canal, on board one schooner. If this mission is to be abandoned, let sufficient cause be shown, and after it is made to appear that it ought to be abandoned, I have nothing farther to offer, but I pray it may not be deserted on the base and sordid motive, and no less base and sordid, than false notion, that it takes funds which ought to flow into the American, or New Hampshire State Anti-Slavery Societies. The question may naturally arise, Can these people, unaided, accomplish all that is effected under the present system? Unhesitatingly and unequivocally, do I answer, no. What sort of teachers do they obtain? First rate, from two causes, one of which is they enter conscientiously into the work, and throw their whole souls into it; the other, they are better qualified than the average of the district school teachers in this State, as may be made to appear from the fact that most of them are from Oberlin, others from Oneida Institute, etc., etc.

I have only to add, that great as are the advantages derived by the colored people from the schools, both by the infantine mind, the more advanced, and those in declining years. Eternity alone will fully develope them, and it remains with the wise in heart to determine whether or not they shall be sustained. I am not over anxious about the verdict, knowing that will be—They must—they shall be sustained.

Thy friend,
JAMES C. FULLER.

From the Monthly Offering.

What do you Abolitionists Want?

Methinks I hear one of our modern Conservatives, who is holding in his breath for fear of excitement, and looking with cold indifference on the struggle which is going on in this country between freedom and slavery—methinks I hear him whispering in my ear, "What do you abolitionists want, that you are so furiously agitating the community, thereby destroying the peace of society, dividing churches, unsettling pastors and turning the world upside down? What would you have us do?"

What do we want? I will tell you. We want you to aid us in raising to the condition of men, millions of your equal brethren, who are now regarded as marketable commodities. We want you to aid in the erection of a platform of rights and privileges, on which the whole human family can stand free and unmolested. We want to leave the human mind in the free exercise of all those powers and faculties which God has given it, to increase its enjoyment and usefulness in this world, and prepare it for never-ending felicity in that which is to come. The slave lies bleeding at your feet—crushed to the earth by this "freest nation under heaven." We ask you to work for his liberation. We want you to aid in abolishing that system of worse than Hindoo caste, which prevails so extensively in our midst, and compels one portion of our citizens to toil on through an unending series of degradation and wretchedness, with scarcely a prospect of escape from that stern despotism which grinds him to the dust. What do we want? do you ask, Mr. Conservative? We want what Diogenes wanted of Alexander. We want you to get out of our sunshine. We want you no longer to keep our brother yonder in the midnight darkness in which he and his ancestors have been enveloped for centuries, through the avarice and cruelty of the white man. We want you no longer to throw your sympathies and your influence into the scale of slavery, and strive by all the means in your power to arrest the progress of the car of emancipation as it rolls onward to its heavenly goal. We want you to clothe yourself in the the panoply of truth, and engage with untiring zeal, and unshrinking fortitude, in the cause of oppressed humanity, and let neither *friendship* nor love, nor selfish fear, nor calculating expediency, drive you from the contest, until no slave shall be found on the broad footstool of the Almighty.

We ask you to array yourselves on the side of universal liberty, and thus aid in saving this nation from that vortex of ruin into which, in consequence of her multiplied oppressions, she is madly plunging. Our land is filled with professions of freedom, republicanism, democracy, and equal rights. They are heard on every breeze, are in the mouth of all the robbers of God's poor, from Maine to Georgia. But it is a democracy of money. It is a republicanism which wastes all its energies and exhausts all its sympathies on a question of dollars and cents. The inherent, vital principles of humanity, enter but little into the composition of the republicanism of the present day. Webster, and Clay, and Calhoun, and most of the other great statesmen can spend all the energies of their mighty minds to portray the evils or the benefits of a Sub-Treasury or a National Bank. But on the question whether two and a half millions of immortal beings shall be reduced to the level of brutes, by a system which may surely be regarded as the fruitful parent of all abominations, they are either found the open and unblushing advocates of this system, or of a most sickly and temporising expediency, which would wink out of sight, great and paramount principles of truth and justice, to advance the interests of a party. To all this the church responds *amen;* and the *people* "love to have it so."

In view of this alarming fact, this dreadful state of things, we call upon *you* who are so anxious to "keep in the quiet"—who have such a holy horror of all excitement, to join hands with us in our warfare against oppression—to stay this sweeping tide of corruption as it rolls over the land—to liberate the slave from his chains, and save our nation from the destruction which hovers over her. This is "what we want" of you. We demand it in the name of the outraged millions now groaning in the great southern prison-house. Shall we have it? Will you not speak and act in their behalf as God shall give you strength!

"Ay, speak—*while there is time,*
For *all* a freeman's claim—
Ere thought becomes a crime,
And Freedom but a name!
While yet the Tongue and Pen
And Press are unforbid,
And we dare to feel and act as men—
Speak—as our fathers did!"

N. H. W.

From the British Indian Advocate.

Freedom to the Slave.

LETTER I.

15, Lever street, Manchester, Jan. 20, 1841.

To the Editor of the British Indian Advocate.

SIR,—I purpose, with your permission, to occupy a reasonable space in this and several future numbers of the British Indian Advocate, in showing the anti-slavery tendency of all successful efforts to render more extensively available, to this and other countries, the exhaustless resources of British India. In doing this I shall be demonstrating the appropriateness of one part at least of our noble motto, "Justice to India; Prosperity to England *Freedom to the Slave.*" Mr. James M'Queen has very recently informed a Parliamentary Committee that the number of slaves imported from Africa into Brazil, Cuba, Porto Rico, the French colonies, Mexico, and the United States, from 1808 to 1838, amounted to THREE MILLION EIGHT HUNDRED AND SIXTY THOUSAND! If this be the number actually imported into the countries specified, (and I am disposed to believe that it is rather under than over stated,) and we add twenty-five per cent for the loss of life during the middle passage, and a number equal to these together for those destroyed by war and other means in Africa, in the process necessary to obtain such an amount of slaves, we have nearly ten millions of human beings either killed or

COMMUNICATIONS.

Our readers will peruse the following communication with interest. It is cool, calm, argumentative, and must find its way to the public heart.

The Society of Friends.

In the Standard of 3d mo. 25th, there was published an editorial article in relation to George F. White, and his ministry.

In consequence of the appearance of that article in the Standard, Isaac T. Hopper and myself have been arraigned before the so called New-York Monthly Meeting of Friends, as offenders against its discipline. The accusation rests on the assumed responsibility of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, for any matter published in that paper. It supposes that the Committee have an unrestricted *right* to control the editor in the expression of his views on any subject. It has not been their practice to exercise special supervision, but it is not denied that they possess supervisory powers. They choose an editor for his general character and qualifications, and it has not been considered by him or themselves, that he should be unconditionally subject to their dictation. It would be impracticable to conduct a paper on such terms. They each have a right to express dissent from his opinions if they see fit to do so; but their silence is not always indicative of approval. The duties of an editor require him to engage in laborious research, and to form opinions on many subjects, in which the Executive Committee cannot participate. It is plain, therefore, that responsibility on their part cannot exist, unconditionally.* I believe the true relation of the editor to the Committee, is here set forth.

With respect to the particular article which is supposed to have rendered Isaac T. Hopper and myself amenable to discipline, it is well to state that he did not read it until several days after it was published, nor until after he was summoned before the overseers of the meeting. For myself, I heard the greater part of it read in manuscript, and had I been disposed to object to its publication, I could not have urged, as a reason, that it was deficient in applicability or truth. Such a reason, or one equally forcible, would be indispensable in an attempt to restrict the editor in the discharge of his duty.

Now, what is this case? George F. White has been engaged for years in misrepresenting the character and object of the abolitionists. He has branded them with the most opprobrious epithets that our language can supply.—He has contemptuously disregarded all appeal, and all remonstrance. Indeed, any effort to show him that he was uncharitable or unjust, seemed to inspire him with increased ardor of denunciation, which has now become habitual and ferocious. For many months he has delivered but few communications in our meetings for worship but what have been characterized by angry excitement, and in which have not occurred with revolting frequency, the epithets, *blasphemers, canting hypocrites, vile emissaries of satan*, &c. &c. A large number of our own members are affirmed to be obnoxious to these epithets. I would ask, what must be the character of a religious society, that retains in full unity, men and women to whom they are applicable? The fierce prejudice that inspired their utterance, is alone blind to their absurdity.

For four or five years, the few abolitionists who are members of the New-York Monthly Meeting, have heard themselves thus branded with the guilt of *blasphemy, hypocrisy, and hirelingism*. That they have manifested Christian patience and forbearance, is conceded even by their aniversaries. But what avails it? The sentiment of the Society has been wrought up to such a pitch of malignity, that it can no longer tolerate the presence of an abolitionist; and it prepares for summary expurgation. The spirit of despotism is always blind; it sees every thing through the medium of passion, and hence it sees every thing deformed. It acts always with precipitancy, and regards deliberation as a crime. Nothing, however, so much vexes it, as to talk about *rights*, and it will always aim its shafts at those who maintain that there is any thing right beyond itself. To make the most of it, it is for no more than denying the truth of slanders that have been promulgated for five years past, that we are now arraigned. Is it more of a crime to *deny* slander, than to *utter* it? Is not slander yet *slander*, whether it be aimed at an abolitionist, or at any one else? Is it *less* than slander, when it falls from the lips of a professed minister of the gospel of truth, or when its promulgator invokes the sanction of divine authority? Shall we not still apply to it the test of *truth* under all circumstances, with strict and impartial justice? It is this application that has endowed with sudden energy the authorities of the monthly meeting. They have been deaf for five years to the most unsparing calumny of a large number of their fellow members of the Society. It is a morbid sensibility that incites them to action—a sensibility entirely subservient to prejudice, bigotry and spiritual pride.

I wish to call the attention of my fellow members of the Society to one or two points, in connection with this controversy. A strong and sincere desire has been felt that "*the unity should be preserved.*" We have been exhorted to wait till the Society itself could move in the anti-slavery concern, and "then," it is said, "all would go on harmoniously." If this rule be a good one, it is good for both sides. We might in turn, exhort those who *denounce* abolitionists to wait untill *all* could denounce them, and then we should avoid strife. But despotism is consistent in one thing only, and that is, in its perpetual disregard and violation of all principle.

It was urged as an objection to anti-slavery action that our members mingled indiscriminately with those of other religious denominations. But an attempt to obviate that objection by forming an association among ourselves, is denounced with more vehemence than slavery itself. At our last Quarterly meeting, notice was given that the association stood adjourned to meet at Rose street house, on the afternoon of the same day. This simple notification convulsed the meeting as with mortal agony. It was pronounced disorderly, and the use of the house prohibited.—Thus, a number of our own members were excluded from the occupancy of premises, for the support of which, they contributed their proportion of funds.

It would seem entirely reasonable, that those members of the Society who feel under no obligation to labor in the service of human freedom, should cease to throw obstacles in the way of those who do; that they should be simply *non-aggressive*. This is all that has been required of them; and they have refused to concede even this! Nay, detraction of purpose and character is superadded, to thwart this object of Christian benevolence! To what can these manifestations of proscriptiveness be ascribed, if not to the ministry of George F. White—a ministry equally incoherent in philosophy and morals, and replete with strong appeal to the prejudices of the people? That young minds, always most susceptible and retentive, and at the same time least capable of discrimination, should be suffered to derive spiritual sustenance at such a fountain, is cause of deep and painful regret.

I would advert to another circumstance in connection with this part of the subject, which cannot have escaped the notice of reflecting minds. The denunciations already named, are uttered professedly, *as the direct and immediate revelations of the Holy Spirit!* It is not unusual to hear doctrines preached, *directly adverse* in their character, *under the same high authority*, by ministers whose lives amply attest the purity and integrity of their profession! How shall we reconcile these conflicting revelations? They cannot be reconciled. The dictates of the Holy Spirit are perfect in wisdom and harmony.

We are approaching a crisis. The Society is deeply agitated. It is obvious to all minds, that the present state of things cannot last. The result, whatever it may be, cannot in the end be prejudicial to the cause of human freedom. That great testimony against oppression, which was uplifted by the founders of our Society, will prosper, though the Society itself be scattered to the winds. Error, bigotry and prejudice, may serve to retard, but they cannot overthrow it. My sincere desire is, that the *right* may be exalted over all.

JAMES S. GIBBONS.

* [This remark is very *true*. There is no responsibility attachable to the individual members of the Committee for editorial *articles*. If the Committee do not like their *Editor*, they can remove him; but they cannot control his *pen*. He must be *free* in editing Freedom's journal. In no instance has the editor submitted his *thoughts* to the Committee for their *approval*. They have not known what he would say until he said it.—*Ed. Standard.*

New-York, April 5, 1841.

Thomas McClintock and *Griffith M. Cooper.*

My very Dear Friends—I know you will not ask any apology for addressing you. The intimacy of our friendship, the very great kindness and love I have enjoyed at your hands, will allow me to forego apologies for asking your attention to "certain thoughts, things and principles" through the columns of the *Standard*. I am induced the more readily to use this method of reaching the public ear, because I know how often you have told me of the sacred obligation that rests upon me to follow the *biddings of Truth*, when she pours her counsel into my soul. And I too well know that a greater than either of us hath declared that I must do my duty, "whether men will hear or forbear." Admiring as I do this principle in the Society of Friends, of being obligated to disobey *man* rather than disobey God, I cannot hold my peace. To do so, is to quash important testimony, and who of all others should feel themselves precluded from blaming an individual for doing his duty as clearly revealed to him, if members of the Society of Friends do not. The *testimony* must be borne. It burns in me like a fire that will have vent. Full well I know that you will take no exception to the performance of this duty, but I do not write for your sakes alone. I write that others may hear what I say. What I have to say is upon the *anti-slavery cause*. This cause, blessed be God, you have given unequivocal proofs of loving. By day and by night your sympathies have gushed out for the dying. Sacrifices you have made that would be well worth copying. I say this not to flatter *you*, but to let the world know that Freedom has won you both to her side, and Slavery feels your opposition. It is gladdening to the heart of one who is a member of the Society of Friends, to cast his eye over the past and gather up rich and evergreen proofs of the faithfulness of his fathers upon the system of slavery. But *man* cannot live upon the past alone. The deeds of his sires are useful as stimulants. They incite him to action. They warm up his nature as he recounts them, and with an authoritative voice, bid him go and do likewise. Here their power ends. They can satisfy none of his obligations—relieve him of no responsibilities, nor can he make drafts upon them for a sustainment of his character. *His* character he must work out as did his fathers, or go without it. What then is the actual condition of the Society of Friends, as respects their testimony upon slavery at the present day? Have they the spirit of their fathers, or are they wearing their off-cast robe? I sincerely think the latter, and (pardon me, I feel it to be the simple truth,) that there is no society of professed Christians in the land, behind the Friends upon this subject—this theme upon which the heart of a Benezet could swell to bursting. I feel no disposition to except or single out either of the divisions. As great and powerful religious bodies, their influence is on the side of the oppressor. Shall I say, because on his side, there is power?

A "*testimony*" is good for nothing—(in fact is no testimony)—if it is secret. Truth flourishes not in secret places, in caves and dens of the earth. She needs the warmth and sunlight of her Maker's face, the refreshing, invigorating influence of his Almighty breath. Nicodemus, however much he might be benefitted by his secret visits to Jesus, could benefit no one. The cause that induced him to learn in secret would induce him to keep that secret, and who supposes that Truth could be of any value thus bound and dungeoned. No—a *bona fide* testimony is a *viva voce* testimony. It is open, fearless, bold. It asks no protection—it but asks publicity, for publicity is its life. The louder it is proclaimed, the stronger it becomes. Give it "a free course" and God will defend it. Where is the *testimony* of your society?—your living, acting members? With some noble exceptions, the answer would be but the echo of the question. The *dead* of the olden time can speak, but the living are dumb.

I know I but speak your sentiments when I say that your society must come up to this *question*—must make the cause of abolition her own—must open her arms and give it a pillowing upon her *bosom*, or "gird on her armor and be dashed to dust." Wherein lies the secret of your strength as a combination? Is it in your errors? Is it in your truth? The former is powerless, the latter is on the side of the *slave*. Who that is acquainted with the rapid advance of this cause in the Genesee yearly meeting, but feels his heart leap with joy at the evidence of the fact that the poor, heart-stricken mother at the South has her friends in your midst whom bigotry cannot silence, threats daunt, nor power overcome. I am satisfied that the day is fast approaching when *no* society can preserve its "unity" who will not bow itself to the slave's redemption. Should it not be so? Should a society have the credit for the "*power* of godliness," when it has nothing but the *form*? Is such an association useful? Should an individual resign his manhood for membership in such a body? Should he yield up liberty of speech, liberty of conscience, liberty of thought and action, for an outward unity? I trow not. To do so, is to rebel against God. Man has no *liberty* to resign his manhood at will. He is God's representative, and may not seek peace at the expense of his Maker's claim. Jehovah demands that he faithfully represent him, wear his likeness, and exhibit his spirit.

If the customs, usages, plans, by-laws, regulations of your society are such as to require a surrendry of his duty to the author of his existence, then (what is *your* answer?) he must bid his companions "*farewell*," and take Truth for a companion. Now, I might ask if in Genesee Yearly Meeting perfect freedom is allowed? I will not do it. I will only ask, can a man speak his mind on the subject of slavery without excommunication? Can he attend anti-slavery meetings, subscribe to the *Standard*, give money to the cause, preach discourses to willing ears within its bounds? I answer, Yes! Does the Genesee Yearly Meeting or any other Yearly, Quarterly, Monthly or preparative meeting, either Orthodox or not, set up a surveillance and tell an *old patriarch*, a towering hemlock in its forest, what sort of *papers* he shall *read*?—what sort of thoughts he shall think?—if he happens to think aloud, what sort of books he shall *sell*? I know of *one*, and it has written its infamy "bone deep" upon its forehead, I mean *Hester street Preparative Meeting in New-York City*. Look at it. Read it. Let the winds carry it on their wings. Send it mid your mountain-tops—course it through your *valleys*. "*Wake up the people*," and let them know it. Send it every where but to the graves of "your honored dead"—let them rest. Such news knocking at their charnel windows might start them into life and send them back to earth. No, keep it from them, *let them rest in peace*. We want this battle decided on its own merits, and not by the re-appearance of those

Old worthies "who spoke as men ne'er spake
And made the wicked quake *by their stern truths.*"

Isaac T. Hopper (who in the Society of Friends has not heard of him?) is to be treated as an offender and expelled, if possible, upon the following grievous and greatly sinful charge:

"That he is concerned in the publication and support of a paper calculated to excite discord and disunity among friends." There lies the charge before you. This old and venerable *man*, whose head has stood the whistlings of 70 winters, together with James S. Gibbons, Chairman of our Executive Committee, are arraigned upon the above foolish charge, and the result will be *expulsion*. How definite and tangible the charge! The *Standard* is *calculated* (!) to excite *discord* and *disunity*—precious admission! It shows that our lance is not headless, nor pro-slavery armor *impenetrable*. What would you think of their taking up the case of a man who made or sharpened razors, because his occupation tended to endanger human life. The natural tendency of drawing a sharp razor across a man's throat is to kill him, so drawing the *Standard* across the throat of *pro-slavery Quakerism* is *calculated* to disunite its head from its body and put them both into a lifeless position. Who shall forbear to apply the *knife*? Let the *Standard* cut away. If Hester street meeting has not had its vital powers seized with *mortification*, the *Standard* will do it good. If *they* are diseased, death is inevitable. So let the *Standard* do its duty.

I am glad that Isaac T. Hopper is *the* man for the "guillotine." The *old man* can afford to suffer martyrdom. His days are most over, though, as you know, his activity is remarkable. Let them go ahead with their *bill of banishment*. His friends shall spring up about him like corn blades in the Spring. His case will create great sympathy, and make the shaft designed for his bosom recoil on his persecutor's head. In my *next letter* I intend to show that the meeting to which he belongs is unworthy of *him*, and is not a Quaker Society inasmuch as it is false to its principles, false to its convictions of duty, false in its accusations, and partial and unjust in its proceedings. Till that time farewell.

Your friend,
J. C. JACKSON.

Le Roy Convention, &c.

Farmington, 2d mo. 20, 1841.

Friend Goodell:—The Friend of Man of the 16th inst. is before me, containing thy remarks on the Le Roy Convention, &c. and some things in relation to my own personal course. Thou sayest that I alternately preach the "no-voting doctrine," and boast of the thousands of votes I have secured to the Whigs. To the latter charge I have replied in a former communication—to the former, I have only to say, that I have never preached the doctrine, on an anti-slavery platform or any where else, although I claim the right to preach it on all *proper* occasions, without forfeiting my character for consistency as an abolitionist. I have, however, never refused give to my views on the subject in private conversation, nor should I in public, if occasion required. They are briefly these:

I consider the act of voting for a law-maker a moral act, and that a man is as solemnly bound to deposit his vote in the fear of God as he is to perform any other action in that fear. While I look upon slavery as the *giant sin* of our land, and one in view of which, (if he votes) a man should exercise his suffrage—there are other things of a moral character which cannot be overlooked with any degree of propriety by the man who employs the "terse literature of the ballot-box." Among numerous questions to be taken into consideration, is that of PEACE, by those who believe that all *war* is wrong. I so believe, and the same principle which prohibits me from voting for a slaveholder or pro-slavery man, forbids me to endorse *war* by voting for a warrior or pro-war man, and no other is eligible to the office of President or Governor.

Thy *informers* must be possessed of a very acute memory, for they *remember* many things which never transpired, among which is the following—"that I recommended the National Anti-Slavery Standard to the support of Whigs, not abolitionists even by profession, on the eve of the election, on the ground that it pursuaded abolitionist not to vote at all." I have only to say that the charge is entirely destitute of truth.

I believe that the course of all those who voted for Van Buren or Harrison at the late election, was an obvious departure from anti-slavery principles, and that the course of all those who sustain pro-slavery ministers and pro-slavery churches, and purchase the productions of sleve labor is a like obvious departure, and therefore the third party is sustained by those who have thus obviously departed from anti-slavery principles. I do not condemn its policy, however on that account; neither have I any fault to find with thy remarks, which go to show the inconsistency of pro-slavery voting, but, on the contrary, am glad to see the question discussed by so able a pen, and the truth brought to bear upon all those who have thus obviously departed. But the main question at issue I understand to be, whether "The anti-slavery electors of the United States are BOUND, by ALL their regard to the *civil* and *religious* rights of the great American people, FORTHWITH to form themselves into an independent POLITICAL PARTY—to nominate candidates from President to Pathmaster, and to support *such* candidates at the ballot-box." And it is the principles embodied in this resolution to which I am opposed.

As I have been pretty liberally charged in the last two or three numbers of the Friend of Man with having pursued an inconsistent course in relation to pro-slavery voting just previous to the late election, I forward the following letter, as containing the views I then publicly and privately advocated, and which I now advocate. It was published in the Liberator of October 16, 1840.

J. C HATHAWAY.

"Farmington, Ontario co. N. Y.
9th mo. 17, 1840.

J. A Collins:

Dear Friend:—Thy letter of the 11th instant, inviting me to be present at your State Anti-Slavery Convention, to be held at Worcester and Springfield, is just received.

I thank the committee for their kind invitation. I have long wished to mingle with the free spirits of Massachusetts, and catch some of their ardor and devotion in the cause of humanity; but circumstances are such that I cannot consistently do myself the pleasure of being present at the proposed convention. I view the present as a most important crisis in the anti-slavery cause. The fierce conflict of the two great political parties threatens to drown, for a time at least, the voice of the bleeding bondman as he cries for aid. The waves of corruption and high party spirit which are rolling over our land, will sweep away all who are not grounded on the immoveable rock of principle.

It is, then, of the utmost importance, that every friend of the slave should be vigilant and active, and that the great principles of truth, which lie at the foundation of our enterprise, should be pressed home upon the consciences of men with a zeal and earnestness commensurate with their importance. In a government like ours, where the people are the source of power, the responsibility of conferring power upon an *unworthy* candidate must rest upon the people: and where is the professed abolitionist who dare incur the responsibility of casting a vote for Martin Van Buren or Wm. Henry Harrison? If such there be, let him pause and reflect! If either of those men occupy the Presidential chair for four years to come, let him not be placed there by the votes of abolitionists. Fully committed and pledged, as they both are well known to be, to the slave power, will it be a source of sweet reflection to any abolitionist, as he listens to the cry of the southern captive groaning beneath the oppressive burden of a pro-slavery government, that the chief magistrate of that government was elevated to that position by the aid of his vote? 'Wo unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievousness which they have prescribed; to turn aside the needy from judgement, and to take away the right from the poor of my people, that widows may be their prey; and that they may rob the fatherless!' Who is responsible for the unrighteous decrees of this government? Most surely the *people*. Let every abolitionist see well to it, then, that the enactors and executors of these unrighteous decrees do not receive the aid of his vote to clothe them with power, without which these unrighteous decrees could not be enacted nor executed. Let him never give the slave occasion to say, when he is cloven down by the sword of power and office, that 'My professed friend furnished the instrument of my destruction.' Will any say that 'certain other great interests must be taken into consideration'? Let such remember that no superstructure of political economy can ever be upheld or supported, which is based on the blood, and tears, and groans of injured innocence; and that no policy of either State or nation can ever receive the approbation of heaven or of good men, which requires the sacrifice of eternal principles to obtain it.

It is well known that both the great political parties are the complete slaves of the South, and sworn to do her bidding. It is the slave power which presides at their caucuses and conventions, and nominates their candidates, and will continue to do so, so long as freemen continue to support her candidates 'for this time under the present peculiar circumstances;' and he who does it, is but the slave of slaves. Better at once come out openly and swear allegiance to the bloody monster, and sacrifice truth and right upon her unholy altar, than to do the bidding of her subordinates and sub-agents.

I do hope that abolitionists will no longer bow down to slavery at the ballot-box, and there insult high heaven, by praying that every yoke may be broken down, and that the oppressed may go free; but let all who have taken upon themselves the name of *abolitionist*, either renounce it at once and for ever, or go forward with an eye single to truth, and follow her wherever she may lead, and sacrifice upon her holy altar whatever she may require, whether it be party predilections in Church or State, or even a seat in the (so called) World's Convention.

Respectfully thine,
J. C. HATHAWAY."

Our friend J. C. Hathaway is lifting himself nobly up from the charges made against him and his friends, of having deserted the cause of the slave. It is strong presumptive evidence of the falsity of the charges brought against him, that the Friend of Man is closed against him.—*Ed. Standard.*

Utica, March 15, 1841.

William Goodell:

My Dear Brother—From the intimate connection which for a number of years subsisted between us, I was led to form a very different estimate of your character from that which recent developments would seem to authorize.

When reading your articles in the Friend of Man, where you become the retailer and endorser of every false and absurd tale which interested individuals may cater for your columns in reference to the movements of myself and co-adjutors in Western New-York, I often exclaim, can this be my friend William Goodell?—If so, what has produced the mighty change? Was *I*, heretofore, blind to his faults, could I not *see* his unkindness—his misrepresentations—his readiness to hold up those in an unfavorable light, who were so unfortunate as to differ from him, or is there a *chaage* in my brother? Has *he* become a *party man*, and adopted the axiom of party men, "all is fair in politics?" Is it not the latter, when he will attack with such virulence, the moral and religious, as well as the political and abolition character of those who have identified themselves with "those in bonds," simply because they differ from in measures, and cannot be made to subserve the *third party* scheme?

My brother, are you aware "of what spirit you are of?" If we are "worthy of stripes," we object not to their application;—but I think it far from the character of a "Christian Investigator," and savors of unkindness to speak evil of any, especially upon mere "hearsay." To this charge are you obnoxious: and will not the columns of the Friend of Man witness to the fact? Your recent letters from Warsaw and Perry, contain some remarkable "anecdotes, &c.," which you have gathered in your Western tour, upon which permit me to offer a few remarks.

I regret exceedingly that our Le Roy Convention should cause you so much trouble, and call forth so much "ink and indignation." For you may rest assured that this Convention and its results are upon too firm a foundation to be shaken by "anecdotes," "idle tales," or "defamation. With it, as a whole, we are content.

As it respects the decision of the meeting upon the address, I will give you the simple facts, and then you can judge for yourself who voted, without resorting to "high authority." I was one of the Committee for making out the "roll of the Convention," which was not completed when the call of the house was made. A few moments served however to complete it, and it was handed to the Secretaries table. The "call" invited *all* of every sect, clime and creed, to come up and talk over the wrongs of the bond-man, and devise measures for his relief, "to take" into consideration the subject of American Slavery, and devise means for its overthrow. In making out the roll, we endeavored to obtain the name of every member of the Convention, and such only; by passing through the assembly, (which was large for a morning session,) and inquiring of each individual, "if they wished to have their names entered upon the roll?" Nine-tenths of the Convention were strangers to me, and I presume were to the other members of the Committee, so that it was impossible for us to know how they would vote. The Secretary in calling the roll, accidentally, as it was afterwards ascertained, omitted a number of the names, which alarmed the jealousy of our third party friends, because amongst others, a few of their names were missing, and the Committee were ungenerously charged with surreptitiously disposing of them in order to deprive them of the opportunity of voting! We again went through the assembly, and took the names of those who had not been called, and wished them placed on the roll. I am satisfied, brother Goodell, you would have heard no complaint from our third party friends that "women and children" voted, had the result been in accordance with their wishes; for the first woman's vote that was given, was on the side of "third party," and that *before* a call of the house, and no objection was made until it was found that the decision was against them, and the address was to remain unmutilated.

One word further, in reference to the vote on the *amendment* to the address. Those, and those only voted whose names were on the roll. The amendment of Col. Sheperd was rejected, notwithstanding a nnmber of the decided opponents of "third party" voted for it, from courtesy to third party friends, who asserted that they were taken by surprise and did not expect the policy of third party to be discussed, though apprised by W. L. Chaplin that "the fate of third party in Western New-York rested on the decisions of that Convention." Judge Brewster also had written to Alvan Stewart and H. B. Stanton, inviting them to be present and discuss the very "question;" and we have reason to believe that yourself, Burish Green and others, were solicited to be there, and our third party friends were gathered from almost every part of Western New-York for the same purpose. In view of these facts, we may judge of the amount of *surprise* they must have experienced when it was introduced.

The Convention was not led astray in the evening, by "the false and uncertain lighrs of political leaders," when the question of third party came up for decision on the following resolution:

"Resolved, That we disapprove of the formation of the "third party," because we believe it retards the progress of the anti-slavery enterprize."

No: for then the question was fairly before them, and an overwhelming "aye" spoke forth a loud condemnation of the whole scheme. Our third party friends, finding themselves in such a lean minority, with no hope of controlling the decisions of the Convention, came to the conclusion, at our next session, to remain silent—that is, so far as the business of the Convention was concerned;—they clustered around the stoves, and watched with intense interest, the formation of the "Western New-York Board," and the introduction of those measures for the consideration of the meeting which have for their accomplishment the *overthrow of American Slavery*.

A word in reference to the formation of the Western New-York Board. You say, "On the next morning," (third day) "this 'Western Board' was organized; *not more than about thirty persons were present!*" My brother, is this an "anecdote," or do you assert it as sober fact? For it will require "higher authority" than any you have quoted, to confirm it. Listen. The organization of the "Board" *preceded* the highly interesting address of our brother Hiram Wilson, in consequence of a number of our friends being under the necessity of leaving for their homes—and *they* wishing to co-operate with us, and share the *honor* or *reproach* of that duty. Resolution 4th was also adopted. Brother Wilson then presented his statements relative to the "Canada Mission," in an address of about an hour and a half, and in conformity with his wishes the Canada Mission Board was organized. Brother Wilson can inform you whether there were but "about thirty persons present" to listen to his address, and to organize the "Mission Board," and to him I refer you, not for "anecdotes," but for facts, touching this question of numbers. The gentlemen composing the Executive Committee of the Mission Board, at once accepted their appointment, and have entered upon the duties of their office, "irresponsible to any Society or constituency whatever"!! if my friend Goodell's statements are to be relied on; for I presume he will not say that the meeting possessed more power to organize the latter than the former Board, especially when their numbers were smaller.

But, my brother, waving all controversy about numbers, permit me to commend to your attention the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That those who make the smallness of our numbers in applying sound principles in the department of politics, matter for derision and reproach, are entitled to our pity for their weakness and folly, and to our best exertions for their deliverance from specious but deadly error."

Your charge of Whigism against any individual, where you are known, or where your paper circulates, is duly appreciated; it is much like the shepherd boy's cry of Wolf! Wolf!—it has lost all its terrors. You know, unless I have belied all my previous conduct since I became an anti-slavery man, that I am not, (and by the blessing of God never will be) a party man. That I drank in largely of the spirit of your articles on "*Independent nominations*," and that from the day you returned a changed man from the *Third Party Albany* Convention, I have not failed to protest against a "political organization." You are well aware, if your memory serves you a *good* purpose, that though I agree with the Whigs in the main, I have not voted a Whig ticket for years, but I have always made my political principles subserve my anti-slavery principles, so that so far as I am concerned, and I might speak with the same confidence of my friends Hathaway and Jackson, your charge of dereliction of principle falls to the ground, and I now enter a broad denial to the whole catalogue of "anecdotes," "insinuations," "suspicions," "assurances on high authority," "hearsay," &c. &c., which you have with such avidity gathered and scattered, in order to convict us of a compromise of principle, and an alliance with the Whigs. We say to them, as we say to all, "The overthrow of American slavery is our object, our support is pledged to all, who will co-operate with us in its utter annihilation." In view of past services, we could not aid in defeating and "will not persuade the State of New-York to repudiate her noble Governor," but "do highly approve of the dignified and honorable, constitutional and just course pursued by Governor Seward," in all his official acts upon the question of slavery. And so do we say, in the language of Joshua Leavitt, that "the debates in the New-York Legislature show that she has men who understand law and liberty too well to surrender both for the fear of losing southern trade," and that we deem such men worthy of our confidence and support.

Do not, my brother, flatter yourself with the "significant indications of the times," that they indicate any thing favorable to third partyism. A *proper* use of your perceptive faculties will enable you to acquire information which will be valuable to your readers, and the community at large, being founded in truth, and will satisfy them that you purpose to be an honest journalist, and relieve you from the unenviable position which you now occupy, that of an "accuser of the brethren."

I remain, dear brother,
Yours,
W. C. ROGERS.

The Le Roy Convention—J. C. Jackson.

No. V.

Peterboro', 3d mo. 11, 1841.

N. P. Rogers:

Dear Friend—An allusion was made in brother Smith's letter to J. C. Jackson, and as some individuals, in a most unchristian-like manner, have endeavored to destroy the influence of that indefatigable laborer in the anti-slavery cause, and as I have attended nearly all his meetings during the last four months, it is no more than justice to him, and the public generally, that I should bear my testimony to his abolition honesty and integrity, and to the unprecedented—yes, I will say unprecedented—success which has attended his efforts. I aver, then, without fear of contradiction, that no man has ever done more for the slave in Western New-York, in the same length of time, than he has; although we have had a Weld, an Allen, a Cross, a Renshaw, and many others, all of whom will long live in the memory of their numerous friends, and whose services have told on the destiny of that system, to overthrow which they spent their best energies, subjecting themselves to the contempt and ridicule, and even personal violence, of mobs, backed up by men of "property and standing." I am aware this is saying *very much*, but there are *thousands* who will bear me out in the truth of the assertion. The interest manifested in his lectures by overflowing and attentive audiences, testifies to the same. Even our third party brethren have said, after hearing him, that all the anti-slavery meetings they had ever had, had not done as much good as one of his lectures; and although they had cherished some prejudices on account of false reports derogatory to his abolition character, they were perfectly satisfied, and bid him God-speed. Testimony corroborative of this could be adduced from third party men, if it were necessary; but "*common fame*" renders it useless. However, for the satisfaction of some, I will instance a few places where third party men expressed their entire satisfaction. At Lima, Livingston county—West Bloomfield, Ontario county—and Perry and Arcade, Genesee county, the leading third party men were highly pleased with his lectures, although he told them plainly he was opposed to their philosophy; and at no place I do not recollect hearing a single third party man object to any thing he said. The charge preferred by William Goodell, in the "Friend of Man," on mere "*hear say*," that he has "*let down the principle of anti-slavery action*," is to my certain knowledge false, having on every public occasion, whenever the subject of voting was introduced, advocated the doctrine, that if a man went to the polls, he must carry his abolitionism there; and that, under no circumstances, was a man justifiable in violating principle.

It is with mingled emotions of sympathy for brother Jackson and commiseration for his vilifiers that I say what I do. Less on account of sympathy for him because his reputation is above suspicion and his hold on the confidence of the people is such that the slander of his enemies will only strengthen that confidence and increase the influence which he so justly wields. Why is it, that some of our third party brethren are exerting themselves to destroy the influence of brother Jackson? The only satisfactory answer to this question is found, in the fact of the corrupting tendency of *party* politics. Brother Jackson pursues the same course that he did when these men were his best friends. He stands on the same ground that he stood on then. He pleads the cause of the oppressed with the same, no, with greater zeal and power than he used to do. He has spent, and is spending, his best energies in behalf of Freedom. He has made sacrifices of health, domestic happiness and prosperity equal to those of any other individual, and yet he is the *target* at which is aimed the shafts of those who once were proud to call him their friend. I would not assume the prerogative of judging the motives of others. I can only speak of the tendency of their conduct and the light in which common sense views it. That they have the interests of abolition in view I do not doubt. Our Puritan fathers had the interests of Christianity in view when they hung the Quakers in Boston and banished the Baptists, but this conduct was reprehensible in the highest degree. The conduct of some of our third party brethren can be palliated on no other principle than a misguided zeal and blind bigotry, just such in its nature as prompted the cruel acts of the conscientious yet deluded Puritan. They, I have no doubt, thought that duty to their Maker required that the heretical Quakers should be hung if milder means would not convince them of their heresy, and when we consider that the cause of their leaving their native land was religious persecution, it throws still darker shades of mystery around these transactions. But it proves the frailty of the human heart. It proves that men with the purest motives may pursue a course directly athwart the principles of right, and the best interests of man. This consideration should cause us to put the most charitable construction on each others' conduct. Like the men who landed on Plymouth Rock we have been subjected to the abuse and persecution of our enemies, our property destroyed, our persons outraged, and, in one instance, life sacrificed; and like their children we have, to a certain extent, cherished the same spirit which actuated our persecutors. We have not, indeed, arrived at the point of hanging each other, but if the feelings which some *appear* to cherish attain their full growth, I would not vouch for the security of the rights, if not the life of *others*. That spirit which would rob a man of his character and destroy his influence, cannot but be looked upon with distrust, to say the least. And has not that spirit found a home in our ranks? The *fact* cannot be denied. It is so plain that it is seen and read of all men. It has scattered its pernicious seed throughout Western New-York. New England has felt its withering influence, and not content with its ravages in this country, it has followed a noble hearted and devoted friend of the slave across the wide Atlantic. What effect it will have there remains to be seen. It is hoped, however, that brother Collins will "work out a reputation" there as some have had to here, who have been forestalled by it. But this is the dark side of the picture, and although dark indeed, it is surpassed by the brightness of the other side.—Western New-York is coming up to the work. The Convention at Northville was a good one, although some individuals manifested a disposition to introduce discord, one of whom openly declared he was determined to break up the *Convention* if it would not accede to *his terms*. That brother is to be pitied, and so are all others in whose breasts rankle the same feelings, and the number of such is not as small as I wish it was, though they are few compared with those of a different cast. The majority of the abolitionists are willing "to bear and forbear." The same feelings which first brought us together animates their hearts. The same motives which fires the souls of our Garrison and Tappans with a holy indignation, causing them to heave the dark mountain waves of a corrupt public sentiment and withstand the barbed spears of the enemy of our race, now thrill the hearts of thousands in *Western New-York*. They have sworn an uncompromising hostility to slavery and inscribed on their banner—"*without concealment—without compromise*," *liberty for the slave*, come life, come death, come weal or come wo:—

"These are the *moral* pioneers,
Who careless of the world's stern frown,
The evils, sanctified by years,
Are gloriously treading down!
Who, to anoint a nation's eyes,
Would be *themselves* the sacrifice!
Grasping, as Sampson did of old,
The pillar and foundation stone
Which Error's lowering stronghold,
Her loftiest temple resteth on—
Willing to perish in its fall,
If martyrdom could disenthrall
Their country from the heavy woes
Her own iniquities impose.

And are there not many kindred spirits in other parts of our beloved country? Yes! murmurs the gentle breeze as it comes from the broad prairies and the checkered forests of the West. Yes! responds New-England's well-tried sons from her cloud-capped mountains and deep, green valleys. Yes, whispers the *South* "'mid her bright sunny rills," and old ocean echoes the same. Let then these spirits, like "kindred drops, unite into one," forgetting past differences and present bitterness, and come up to the rescue of the crushed slave, the redemption of our country, and the disenthralment of our race.

Thine in the cause of the oppressed,
P. D. HATHAWAY.

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

THURSDAY, APRIL 8, 1841.

"Union for the Sake of the Union."

This sentiment is in the mouths of all our Statesmen. They pride themselves upon its utterance. It forms the peroration to almost every *maiden speech* which is delivered in our halls of legislation or our political conventions. Men seem to delight in being known as the embracers of it. To our own mind the sentiment is *low*. Low, because it is unworthy of *men*; unworthy, because it is false. Pray tell us what great delight there is in having a "union for the *sake* of the Union." No, we do not go the logic or the law of this hacknied motto. Great men may utter it—little men may echo it. Our lips shall not give currency to its false morality. It furnishes a pretext for all that is mean and immoral in our history as a people. It covers up all our failings as a nation. It has stifled the voice of God in the bosoms of millions, whose sympathies unpledged, unbound and free would have gushed out for distressed humanity, but which under the teachings of this schoolmaster have been shut up, till they have become as stagnant as the Dead Sea, obeying no call less mighty than the voice of God.

Union for the sake of the Union! aha, how ready men are to turn their eyes from the throes of their country as she lies helpless in the embrace of slavery, for the *sake of the Union*. The interests of the North have been sacrificed, the honor of the North has been yielded up, the manhood of the North has been trodden down, for the *sake of the Union*. The father of the South has had his heart broken, the mother of the South has gone mad, the daughter of the South has been immolated on the altar of lust, the son has perished under his labor and his lashings, for the *sake of the Union*. Religion has been robbed of her power, God of his glory, Truth of its *free course*, and virtue of its safe guards, for the *sake of the Union*. Liberty has been struck down in our streets—peace driven from our dwellings—order from among our citizens, for this same sake. Law has been hand-cuffed and sent to prison. Mobocracy has been clothed in the Judge's ermine, and the physical might of the nation has been pledged to the destroyer of God's image should he dare to think, speak, or act for himself, for the sake of the Union. Away with this sentiment, and in its place we will have a motto that shall ennoble and elevate us. It shall be

The Union for the Sake of its Benefits.

Upon such a sentiment one can feast himself; it is radical, at the same time, it is *conservative*. It carries the antidote with the poison. It prepares means for building, as well as levelling. If it tears down and lays in ruins, it does so from the worthlessness of the edifice, and in its place springs up a

"Temple new and beautiful,
With wondrous skill constructed"—

within whose walls righteousness and peace can meet, and truth and mercy can kiss each other. If this union is not beneficial it ought to be dissolved. We do not mean beneficial to us Anglo Saxons, "us corner-stones of creation," but beneficial to all concerned. If it is founded upon such principles, and is to be kept together by such means as involve the destruction of the liberties of the poorest man Jehovah ever made, then the Union asks too much. It asks for manhood, a "pearl of price" not alienable, a jewel not negotiable, a bundle of rights not transferable, except by the *power of force*, and of course wrong.

This Union cannot live on *prostrate manhood*. God, the defender of his prerogatives and the avenger of the wrongs of the innocent, will dash it in pieces like a potter's vessel, if it repent not. O when shall we have a higher morality—a holier *faith*—a more consistent republicanism, and a purified christianity! When that day comes at the North—it is coming steadily—we shall hear no more sickly sentiment

ders for her. Every breath of the legislature is instinct with life to her. "It is marrow to her bones." Cast out, despised, and abused as she has been by two millions of her children, how must she feel as she witnesses every day their returning allegiance, and hears their whisperings of repentance, their determination to yield no longer to the cursed enchantments of the monster that has rioted upon their hopes and been protected by the "*glorious immunities of the law*." We say, then, to the legislature, redeem the State! Expunge all laws that recognize any alliance, any sympathy for the abominable system. Wash the face of the Empire State clean, that once more she may look forth clear as the sun, fair as the moon, and terrible as an army with banners. Sunder her embrace with slavery, and she will be redeemed indeed. *Such* a redemption she has never known. She has always had this leprosy in her midst—*secretly* if not openly, morally if not legally. Her mighty energies have felt its benumbing influence; *but* the "day of her redemption draweth nigh. The *present* doings of the representatives of the people show the determination of the people for the *future*. The struggle has been *hard*, long, fiercely contested; and many a bold warrior has fainted by the way almost, but brother abolitionists of all classes, we say, hold on—steadily, firmly, generously giving honor where it is due, and our country will be *free*. When once the point is settled, that "*New-York is redeemed*," the verdict will be sure without special pleading. With New-York, Massachusetts, (that *marriage law* will strip her of the banner we fear,) Vermont, Rhode Island, Ohio, (she must yield in less than four years,) Indiana, (can she hold back?) and, in four years, who knows about little Delaware, without a distillery, (temperance and *freedom* go well together,) and Kentucky, (the Richmond Enquirer says she is ours *already*, but without either of the latter,) what will slavery do at the next Presidential election? She will either find the North *united against her*, and its electoral vote given to a *man* who dare stand up, like Wm. H. Seward, against her demands, or she will go into the House of Representatives to take her last *farewell*. No one should doubt that the same ratio of progression for the coming four years with which we have moved for the last four years, settles this matter; and we can tell the "*doubter*" that our momentum is twenty-five per cent. greater than at any former period.

He who stays penned up in a city, whose interests demand that he should be *blind*, lest he should starve, may think us enthusiastic; but he who mingles with the people, who goes into their houses and reaches the truth by fair and impartial investigation, will agree with us, that the facts are as we state them. Men are *thinking*, and "Sartor Resartus" says, that of all beings in this world the Devil fears a thinking *man* the most. We expect abolitionists to work, as well as think, and the reward of their hands will be given them.

Abolitionists, shall Gov. Seward be sustained?

The editor of the Emancipator in his last number comes out heartily and unequivocally in his favor. We rejoice to see it. It is but right in the editor thus to show his reasons to sustain a man who will sustain law and right in the face of SLAVERY. We have always felt it somewhat a rare thing to find a *Statesman* who would look Slavery in the face with an unquailing eye. Statesmen, as a general thing, are the creatures of public opinion, and it is cheering to one's heart to find a man who settles his opinion upon his own investigations, and then adheres to them.—Such a man, though wrong, will eventually find the *Right*, and maintain it. The following remarks of the editor of the Emancipator are drawn out, it would appear, from the presentation by Governor Seward of a series of Resolutions of the Legislature of Mississippi, concerning the Virginia controversy, to the Legislature of this State?

"GOVERNOR SEWARD.—This upright Chief Magistrate is proving that he knows his duty, and dares to do it. Respecting the sovereignty of the State in its Executive relations, he is showing himself worthy of the trust. Possessing, within his official sphere, a most important discretionary power, he is wielding it so that neither the commonwealth nor liberty shall receive detriment. The tone of the following paragraph from the New-York Star and Times, (a whig paper peculiarly *southern* in its sentiments,) shows that integrity and uprightness will be appreciated in the end. On this grand question of State immunities, the Governor was for a time left almost alone, but he stood firm, and now the tide has turned. The man who knows so well what is due to New-York in the maintenance of her dignity as a State, and of her plighted faith to the Constitution and the Co-States, is THE MAN FOR GOVERNOR. No party or personal grounds of dislike will justify the State of New-York in rejecting him, provided he shall be a candidate for re-election. Let Virginia see how fully Noah's Evening Star comes to his support."

We reiterate the opinion of brother Leavitt, that such a man "IS THE MAN FOR GOVERNOR." We are especially glad to hear it from him, as this indicates to us strongly, that our third party brethren will not deem it necessary to make any nomination for Governor. If this should be so, (and it is so, as far as brother Leavitt is concerned,) we shall feel that our friends of the third party will have yielded the point "that no man can be trusted with a civil office who is a candidate in either of the parties." We feel that this admission would do much toward healing the differences among abolitionists upon POLITICAL ACTION, and have a salutary tendency. The argument in justification of nominating task-masters and assessors has arisen, we suppose, from this same conviction, that no man connected with either party could be safely relied upon for office—and thus they were "shut up to the necessity" of nominating their own candidates, in all the *lower* as well as higher offices. We are glad that in the opinion of the Emancipator, the third party is no longer thus "shut up" to the nomination for Governor. His opinion will be of great weight with *them*. We rejoice to be able to quote it so definitely. We have always felt our brethren to be wrong in their view of *this* subject. We have always felt that nothing was wanting but a sufficiency of *light* among the people to make them feel upon this point, and their opinion would set the thing all right. It is now done. New-York may be considered as "abolitionizing wonderfully fast." The fact that it is so, however, should not slacken our pace but add to our energies. Now is our time to lift at the wheel and Hercules' strength can be dispensed with. When the "*New-York Star and Times*" feels the breath of freedom so warmly upon its cheek as to stimulate it to write the following article, who shall despair? The Journal of Commerce may come next, and then we shall all cry, Is Saul among the prophets? Verily, times have changed.—We can look up and say, WHAT HATH GOD WROUGHT!—Read what Mr. Noah says:

From the N. Y. Times and Star, March 30.

"NEW-YORK AND VIRGINIA.—Governor Seward is not disposed to abandon the position he has taken in relation to the fugitives from Virginia. The official document published below emphatically affirms his previous decision, and is certainly calm and dignified, in comparison of the ill-judged state paper which called it forth. Since the receipt of Governor Gilmer's reply to the requisition made by the Executive of New-York for the surrender of the forger Curry, the aspect of the affair has materially changed.—The Executive of Virginia has resigned, and the acting Governor has given up the fugitive to the agent of the government of New-York. So far the path of negotiation has been smoothed, and we trust that the sincere desire which both parties in the controversy manifest to adjust the difficulties between them, will produce a result mutually satisfactory. We certainly incline to the opinion that Governor Seward has taken the right view of the matter, and cannot but hope that our fellow-citizens of the Old Dominion, after a fair and dispassionate review of all the circumstances, will arrive at the same conclusion.

There unfortunately exists in the slaveholding States, (thanks to the incendiary course pursued by the Globe and other Southern loco-foco organs,) a *pre*-disposition to regard every northern movement or measure having even the most remote or accidental connection with the subject of slavery, as an officious interference with southern rights.—If the authorities of Virginia can divest themselves of this feeling, which is decidedly unjust, so far as regards the State of New-York, we cannot help believing that they will see cause to revise their previous conclusion. The people of this State are not only incapable of doing the people of Virginia intentional wrong, but of seeing wrong done to them without freely and loudly disapproving the deed and censuring the doer. That they have maintained comparative silence in relation to this dispute, is not to be attributed to doubts of the propriety of Governor Seward's conduct, but to a sincere wish not to embarrass the settlement of the question by any thing calculated to increase excitement."

For the "Times and Star," this is saying much. Poor Virginia! We absolutely pity her. She commenced this controversy with the *Empire* State, and she has grappled with her match. The "Old Dominion", as is, "*par excellence*," her reverential title—must back out. She cannot conquer. The spirit of the age is across her path like the angel of the Lord across the path of Balaam—and, as in his case, so in her case, the curse that comes hot from her lips fall at the feet of New-York—a blessing. Strange as it is, it is *true*. Her day of "*dominion*" is gone She is no longer the "Mother of monarchs." No President from her soil ever seats himself in the White House again till that *soil* is made pure with the tears of contrition. Her *last* son sits *now* in his glory, but the mother is *doomed*.

We are writing *History*, albeit, it is *prospective*. It will soon belong to the *past*. It is but the slipping aside the veil a little before the time appointed, and taking a peep behind its curtains. The facts are all there, safely registered, to be developed in due time. They will stand in bold relief, in four years—to be seen by the world. The hand-writing is on the wall. A clear-sighted, *true*-hearted man can see it *now*. Virginia may need to wait awhile.—She will then see its interpretation in that of her own motto. When she finds the power departed from her, and the sceptre from her hand, in the administration of national affairs, and in despair asks the cause, Freedom will hiss in her ears, "*Sic semper tyrannis*." She will then know its interpretation.

She has already had sad forebodings. Movements at the North disturb her sadly. She staggers like a drunken man under the fright, and is driven to her wit's end. Nothing will cure her but *total abstinence* from the sin of slaveholding. Nothing can heal the breach between her and New-York but her retracing her *steps*. New-York never yields again to pro-slavery policy for comity, for the Union, for the compact, for the original compromise. Read the following message sent to the legislature of New-York by the Governor upon receipt of the Mississippi resolutions, and then tell us if Joshua Leavitt is not right in saying he *is the man for Governor*:

MESSAGE,

From the Governor, transmitting resolutions of the Legislature of Mississippi, and other papers, in relation to the controversy between Virginia and New-York.

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
Albany, March 26, 1841.

TO THE LEGISLATURE.

I transmit resolutions of the Legislature of Mississippi, concerning the decision of the Executive of this State declining to comply with a requisition made by the Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, in 1839, for the surrender of certain persons represented to be fugitives from justice, charged with the constructive offence of stealing a negro slave. I avail myself of the occasion to lay before the Legislature certain other proceedings affecting the same question.

On the 24th of February last, I issued a requisition to the Executive of Virginia for the surrender of Robert F. Curry, a fugitive from justice, charged with an aggravated crime of forgery. His Excellence, the Governor of Virginia, admits the regularity of the requisition, and acknowleges that the fugitive has been arrested and is in actual custody in that Commonwealth upon the charge contained in the requisition. Nevertheless, he deems it proper to make his compliance with the requisition dependent upon a reversal of the decision heretofore made by the Executive of this State in the case before referred to, and to detain the fugitive in custody six months, to afford time to the Executive of this State to reconsider that subject. By the documents transmitted, it will be seen that I have deemed it my duty, under these extraordinary circumstances, to inform the Governor of Virginia without delay, that the decision in question cannot be reversed.

It appears from the public prints, and is undoubtedly true, that an act has been passed by the Legislature of Virginia designed to subject vessels owned or navigated by citizens of this State and departing from Virginia, to inspection, and attempting to impose onerous and offensive restrictions upon citizens of this State carrying on commerce with the State of Virginia. It is understood to be among the provisions of this law, that it shall take effect after the first day of May, 1842; but that his Excellency the Governor of that Commonwealth, may suspend the operation of the same until the end of the succeeding session of the Legislature of Virginia whenever he shall be officially informed that the Executive of New-York has consented to surrender the supposed fugitives before mentioned, and that the law of the State of New-York, passed May 6th, 1840, entitled "An act to extend the right of trial by jury," has been repealed. A full copy of said act of the Legislature of New-York, as contained in the public prints, is herewith laid before you.

It will belong to the Legislature to decide whether the law that seems to have given offence to the Legislature of Virginia shall be repealed: but I trust it will not be deemed improper for me to state, that although I supposed the trial by jury was effectually secured to persons claimed as fugitive slaves without the passage of the act in question, and therefore believed it unnecessary, yet I cheerfully deferred in that respect to the better judgement of the Legislative and approved the law, the repeal of which is thus demanded. In my judgment, the law could not now be repealed, and especially under the singular circumstances presented, without raising a presumption that the Legislature intended to deprive our own citizens, or other persons claimed as fugitive slaves, of the right of trial by jury. Believing that the right is invaluable as a protection to personal liberty, is peculiarly proper in cases where persons are exposed to the loss of liberty without even a charge of crime, and that it is important to every human being within our jurisdiction, in proportion to the humbleness and defencelessness of his condition, I cannot recommend the repeal of the act. If it became my place to speculate concerning the probabilities of legislative action, and if I supposed it possible, which I certainly do not, that any disposition existed in the Legislature to repeal the act, I should deem it my duty to remonstrate against the measure.

Unwilling to leave any ground for an expectation in regard to the Executive of this State, that convictions of duty which have prevailed, notwithstanding the very elaborate arguments presented by the Executive and Legislature of Virginia, can be removed by any injurious measures adopted by that State, I deem it proper to repeat, in the most solemn manner, that the humble individuals who ae pursued by the Governor of Virginia as felons for the offence of being seamen on board a ship in which a negro secreted himself in order to escape from slavery, if they yet remain in this State, are under the protection of its constitution and laws and cannot be surrendered to the State of Virginia by Executive authority, on the pretence set up for that purpose, without a deliberate violation of both, and that this conviction, adopted after most mature and impartial deliberation, and strengthened by subsequent reflection, is in no degree affected by the recent proceedings of the authorities of Virginia.

Without intending any disrespect to the State of Virginia, and cheerfully leaving its authorities to adopt all such proceedings as may seem to them right and proper in regard to the subject, I avail myself of the occasion to declare that measures of retaliation, injury and reprisal, are deemed equally unworthy the dignity of this State, and inconsistent with its federal relations. The Executive of this State, therefore, will not, although such a course has the sanction of the example of his Excellency the Governor of Virginia, offer large rewards to induce persons to seize within the jurisdiction and in violation of the laws of Virginia, fugitives from the justice of this State, requisitions for whose delivery to the authorities of this State have been denied by the Executive of Virginia, but will be content to put forth the legal powers with which he is entrusted.

The Executive of this State will not appeal to the supposed interests and sympathies in other States, and attempt to combine one portion of the Union against another, but will cheerfully abide for his cause the test of time and free investigation. The constitution demands of the Executive of Virginia upon the Executive of this State will in all cases be allowed as fully as if the Governor of Virginia met his own obligations in the same manner, nor will measures of retaliatory legislation be recommended. On the contrary, the Executive of this State, confiding in the Constitution and laws of the United States, as affording ample remedies for any injuries the citizens of this State may suffer from unconstitutional proceedings on the part of the State of Virginia, is satisfied that it may be safely left to the magnanimity of Virginia, and her own experience of the injurious consequences of those proceedings to secure an early relinquishment of them, and a due acknowledgement and performance of all her constituted obligations.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

The Journal of Commerce tries in its number of April 1st, to soothe Virginia with the idea that the Governor of New-York has receded from his original position, that the laws of New-York did not recognize property in man. We can discover nothing of the kind, can you, dear reader, in the above message? Does not the Governor stand *firm?* We think so, and for the first time stands up boldly for the *Jury trial Law*, always having, heretofore, said it was unnecessary, but deferring his judgment to that of the legislature in the matter, but *now* he says it must stand.

The Journal of Commerce will gain nothing by complaint. Slavery has done its work in New-York, and let all the people say, Amen!

J. C. Hathaway, W. C. Rogers, &c.

Our brother J. C. Hathaway will pardon us for omitting one of his letters which he forwarded originally for publication in the Friend of Man, and which that journal refused to publish. Our reason is, that we have received a letter from W. C. Rogers, embodying the same facts, and we thought it useless to publish both. We wished also to give brother Rogers a hearing as he has been implicated with our other brethren. The defence of these noble and toil-worn friends of the slave speaks for itself. We ask our readers to give them a fair hearing. They are good men and *true*, and we think they have done us essential service. In fact we think the devotion of these brethren somewhat remarkable, and take the liberty of suggesting that if all our *friends* will make the same effort to increase our subscription list, the Standard can in a year's time number ten thousand subscribers. Suppose you try, friends. We will also take the liberty of saying in this place that the Review of P. D. Hathaway closes this week. Though not agreeing with him in all his views, yet we give him great credit for his kindness and candor in his review, and our thanks for his *volunteer* service through a long and tedious winter's campaign of six months.

From the Ontario Repository.

We publish below the letter of the Hon. Francis Granger, announcing to the people of this Congressional District that his connexion with them, as their immediate Representative, is dissolved.

Under other circumstances, the annunciation would be received with feelings of unmingled regret; but, as it is caused by his being transferred to a sphere of greater usefulness, the Whigs of old Ontario will cheerfully surrender on the altar of the public weal their sectional attachments, not unmixed with conscious pride that the individual whom they have delighted to honor in more subordinate stations is approved by a whole nation. In the knowledge of that reciprocal attachment and mutual confidence between the representative and the constituent, which in this case is acknowledged to have existed, we do not hesitate, in the name of the whole constituency, to respond to the sentiments contained in his farewell letter in the warmest terms of satisfaction and congratulation; and to pray that Heaven, in its kindness, may hereafter enable him to acquit himself, in the Department to which he has been called, with equal usefulness to the nation and honor and satisfaction to himself.

To the Electors of the County of Ontario:

Fellow-Citizens:—Having this day transmitted to the proper authority the surrender of my place as your Representative in Congress, permit me to say one parting word beyond that cold formality which belongs to an official resignation.

For more than twenty years we have been bound by political and social ties, which, by me, will long be remembered. Your partiality first gave me political consideration, and during every vicissitude of political fortune, by you have I been most proudly sustained. Kind to my faults, and generous in rewarding any services that may have been rendered by me, to your approbation or censure I shall ever be most keenly sensitive.

Called to the direction of a department more closely connected with our whole people than any other branch of the Government, I cannot be insensible to the increased responsibilities now resting upon me; and whilst my untiring exertions in the public service will be devoted to a just and impartial discharge of its duties, in such a manner as the various interests of our wide-spread confederacy demand, you must still permit me to feel that I am a citizen of New-York, and that Ontario is my home.

FRANCIS GRANGER.

Washington, March 6, 1841.

Francis Granger we know. We know him to be a gentleman in manners, and a man of fine talents. His capacities for the post which he has assumed are equal, if not superior, to any other man's with whose history we are acquainted. He has always been popular with his immediate constituents, till of late. Within two years his popularity has been on the decline, and it is ascribable to his course on the subject of *slavery*. Mr. Granger has not been manly in his course upon this subject. He has and has *not* a mind of his own. He has an "inner and an outer man," upon this great question. He *is* an *abolitionist in theory*, else his veracity is questionable. We care not what General Harrison says about him, nor what Mr. Granger told him to say, or whatever he may say at Washington, in Canandaigua and Ontario co., he said he was an *abolitionist*. Who that lives in Ontario county, N. Y., does not know that Francis Granger told the abolitionists that he would do any thing for them if elected to Congress; we ask, who? To be sure he never was a member of an anti-slavery society, "but" he was opposed to slavery, and would do any right thing for its abolition. Ontario county had too many good and sensible men in the abolition ranks to be careless of treatment to them with impunity, and it was with no small surprise that Mr. Granger took the stand he did in Congress the first term of his election to that body. They remembered it, upon his re-election, and so threatening were the prospects that "promises to do better" were abundant. They trusted him again. His sins were almost as weighty as before, and had it not been for the election of General Harrison, Francis Granger would have closed up his political career till he had repented and done works meet for repentance.

Now, in all this thing there has been double dealing, unworthy of a gentleman of Mr. Granger's powers. It is too much like the course of Daniel Webster. There is nothing in it like the bold, determined stand of Thomas Morris. The latter puts his foot down—you find his impression. He leaves it enduringly. Nothing "foxy" about Mr. Morris. His soul is upon his face. He is a living epistle, to be known and read of *all* men. Why could not Mr. Granger have so acted? How much it would have added to the consolation he will need in a dying hour!—how much honor it would give him in the eyes of the wicked, even! How much joy it would have infused into many a bold heart within the limits of old Ontario! They would have embalmed him in their memories forever. Strange! Now, dislike, strong dislike lies buried up deep in the hearts of many of his political supporters not easily to be forgotten. The day of forgetfulness has passed. A man's actions are remembered henceforth upon *this* question. No man can successfully play the "*artful dodger*." Eyes are upon him he thinks little of. Men are upon his trail who are battling for the law of eternal right—their hearts are firm—their step sure. A false step and his political life ends. This is no *child's talk*—it is the voice of *truth*—it is the utterance of a people's determination. If any one doubts its power, let him satisfy himself of the fact or falsehood of Mr. Granger's friends having written to certain gentlemen in this State about General Harrison's having misstated him in his Richmond speech. We believe he never said any such thing as the General reported, though he doubtless said something of the sort, and the General filled the *vacuum*. Be it so, it were worth his office that he had kept that story from publication. It has affected the prospects of his party more than he imagines. Men in the Western part of the State breathe thick and hurriedly when they think of Francis Granger securing for himself quiet and peace by suffering to be misrepresented in his principles upon this question. Such has been his course, and the influence of that story upon his political popularity, that were a Gubernatorial election to come on to-morrow, and he were the *nominee*, he would lose the State, we verily believe. New-York would be proud of him as she is of William H. Seward for *his* manly course, had Mr. Granger not played her *false*; but he should remember, and we invite all other political gentlemen to the same remembrance, that the man who goes against slavery is "our man," and the man the "people will delight to honor," of whichsoever party he may be at the next election. And although Mr. Granger will not be a candidate, there will be somebody nominated, and that *somebody* must be an abolitionist, or he will be beaten. The parties can have their choice—union with abolitionism and success, or union with slavary and *defeat*; we speak to them not threateningly, but merely to give them notice.

Acknowledgments.

Received from friends in England and Scotland, per John A. Collins, ... $930 93
Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, in sundry payments, ... 299 75
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S. S. Cowles, ... 5 00
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Sarah Marriott, ... 5 00
Eastern District of Penn. Anti-Slavery Society, 100 00
James Fulton, ... 10 00
A friend from Western New-York, . . 105 00
Dr. Hudson, (draft) 50 00
Per Wm. M. Chace, for Mass. A. S. Society, 100 00
T. Davis, Providence, R. I., ... 20 00
M. P. Hayward, Concord, Mass., . . . 10 00
Des. Farwell, Cambridgeport, ... 00 50
$1,721 18

THE VALUE OF OUR ORGANIZATION.—We intended to have favored our readers with our views somewhat at length this week upon this topic, but have deferred it. We can only say that we think it perfectly demonstrable, that our organization has not yet done its work. While kept true to its original intent, it must be useful in aiding the progress of the anti-slavery reform. Abolitionists should see to it, that it does not languish for want of their vigorous co-operation.

NOTICES.

EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The eighth annual meeting of the American A. S. Society will be held in the city of New-York, beginning on Tuesday, the 11th of May, and continuing, by adjournment, until the business be concluded. Members of anti-slavery societies, and friends of the cause throughout the country, are invited to attend. The

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

Will be held in the *Broadway Tabernacle*, on Tuesday afternoon, at 3 o'clock. Delegates are requested, immediately on their arrival in the city, to call at the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 143 Nassau street, and to enroll their names. Cards of reference will be furnished, directing them where accommodations can be obtained, at a reasonable cost, during their stay in this city.

T. VAN RENSSELAER, } *Com. of*
JAMES S. GIBBONS, } *Arrangements.*
New-York, March 4, 1841.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

DEATH OF THE PRESIDENT.

WASHINGTON, April 4, 1841.

An All-wise Providence having suddenly removed from this life, WM. HENRY HARRISON, late President of the United States, we have thought it our duty, in the recess of Congress, and in the absence of the Vice President from the seat of government, to make this afflicting bereavement known to the country, by this declaration, under our hands.

He died at the President's House, in this city, this fourth day of April, A. D. 1841, at 30 minutes before 1 o'clock in the morning.

The people of the United States, overwhelmed, like ourselves, by an event so unexpected and so melancholy, will derive consolation from knowing that his death was calm and resigned, as his life has been patriotic, useful and distinguished; and that the last utterance of his lips expressed a fervent desire for the perpetuity of the Constitution, and the preservation of its true principles. In death, as in life, the happiness of his country was uppermost in his thoughts.

DANIEL WEBSTER, Secretary of State.
THOMAS EWING, Secretary of Treasury.
JOHN BELL, Secretary of War.
J. J. CRITTENDEN, Attorney General.
FRANCIS GRANGER, Postmaster Gen'l.

Arrest of Rail Road Robbers.—The robbers who have been long preying upon travellers on the Syracuse and Auburn Rail Road are at length arrested. Three gentlemen, Messrs. Wilkie, Strong and Clark on arriving at Albany found that they had been robbed of considerable sums of money, and on comparing recollections, became satisfied that the robberies were committed in the baggage car, between Auburn and Syracuse. They therefore returned to that place on Sunday, accompanied by Messrs. Young and Williams, Rail Road Superintendents. Suspicion fell so strongly upon Richard Graves, Collector on the A. & S. Road, and George Wall, Porter to the S. & U. Road, that they were both arrested. An examination failed to elicit any facts against Graves, who was discharged. Mr. Strong, however, went with Graves to Auburn, keeping an eye on his movements. Mr. Clark took Wall into a room at the Syracuse House, and after locking the door, commenced a conversation which continued seven or eight hours and resulted in a full confession of the robberies and the recovery of all the money. Mr. Clark drew Wall by degress into familiar conversation, and in undertaking to account various sums of money which had traced to him, he got entangled in a labyrinth of contradictions. While embarrassed and, alarmed, Mr. C. informed him that a mysterious box which had been made for him had been found, and that $900 had been found at his boarding house. He then confessed that this $900 was part of a package of $1700 belonging to Messrs. White & Williams, of Buffalo, which he had stolen from E. Norton, Esq., last fall, and that the box referred to contained $500 more of the same money.

Wall, finding himself cornered, said that he and Graves were in company; that on the night of the last robbery, he started from Auburn locked alone in the car next to the baggage; that after the engine started he went into the baggage car with a dark lanthorn, and by means of false keys unlocked several trunks, taking packages of money from those of Messrs. Clark, Strong and Wilkie; that after their arrival at Syracuse, he divided the money with Graves (who came in the same train as Collector,) and after arranging it in such a manner as to preserve it, they secreted it in the basement wall of the Presbyterian Church, where, on examination, it was found, one of the packages having "R. Graves" on it, and the other marked "G. Wall."

Wall is an old offender, having been twice in the State Prison. He had been suspected and discharged, but kept around the Depot in temporary employment.

Graves is extensively known at the South and at the North. He has led a roving life, and had been more or less suspected for several years.

New York and Virginia.—We understand that on Monday last, the day after the duties of Governor devolved on him as Lieut. Governor, Mr. Patton issued his warrant for the surrender of Robert F. Curry, the fugitive from justice from New-York, in compliance with the demand made by the Governor of New-York. He had previously in his capacity of Councillor, advised the surrrender of the subject was submitted to the Council for their advice by Gov. Gilmer. His own sense of duty, therefore required of him to pursue the course he has so promptly taken. He has, we understand, enclosed the warrant to Gov. Seward in a brief letter, containing a strong and decided remonstance against the conduct of the Governor and Legislature of New-York as to fugitives from justice and fugitives slaves, with an earnest but respectful appeal to them to arrest the unhappy and dangerous collissions which must ensue from a perseverance in their assaults upon the rights of the State of Virginia and the otper Southern States.—*Rich Whig.*

A New and Rapid Method of Salting Meat.—A new mode has been invented of curing meat in a very short time. The meat to be cured is placed in an iron vessel of considerable strength, connected by a pipe and stop-cock with the brine tube, also with an exhausting pump. The cover having been screwed down on the vessel, the air is extracted, and a vacuum established, whereupon the stop-cock being properly turned, the brine rushes in and takes the place of the air, filling the pores of the meat, and penetrating thoroughly the animal substance. Lest, however, some parts of the meat might not have been impregnated with the pickle by this reaction and the common atmospheric pressure, more of the liquid from the tub, prepared to taste, with salt alone, or with saltpetre, or sugar, or spice, or alum in the ease of hides, is pumped in by a small condensing engine (connected, of course, also with the iron vessel) until a pressure of from 150 lbs., to 200 lbs., on the square inch be attained. Now, the animal substance is allowed to remain under pressure for about ten minutes, and the process is complete. The meat when taken out is thoroughly saturated with the brine, the full flavor of which is imparted to it, and well cured, as it is termed.

A letter from Acre, dated November 20, has reached us, which speaks of a misunderstanding between Admiral Sir R. Stopford and Commondore Napier, which is likely to lead to a court of inquiry. It appears that the Commodore asked the Admiral, after the capture of Acre, if he was pleased with his conduct; to which the Admiral is said to have replied in the negative, as although he had ordered him (the Commodore) to lead into action, the Commodore allowed the *Castor* to precede him; and when he came to, he came to in a position which kept three ships out of action, and left the centre of the fortification uncovered, which was a great source of annoyanco to all engaged in the seige. *United Service Gazette.*

Shocking Calamity.—In North Stonington on the night of Friday, the 5th inst., two sons of Mr. George Geer, were burnt to death. They went out about 10 o'clock, P. M. as usual, to watch a coal pit, and not returning at the usual time in the morning, another little son of Mr. Geer, was sent for them. He came running to the house, saying they were burnt to death. The father immediately started for the pit, but a few of the bones were found, where the cabin had been situated One of them was aged 19, and the other 14 years.—*Norwich Aurora.*

Splendid Meteor.—About twenty minutes before eight o'clock, on the evening of Monday, the 15th of March inst. a magnificent meteor was seen by several persons in this vicinity. Its apparent size was five or six times that of Venus, and its splendor was so great that it illumined the whole visible hemisphere. When first seen it was in altitude 15 degrees, azimuth S. 62. W., it moved obliquely downwards towards the West, and flashed out in altitude 11 degrees azimuth S. 68 W. Just before its disappearance it seemed to explode, and one observer listening, heard about two minutes after, a report which, as he thought, resulted from this explosion. The meteor's motion was slow; the time of its visible flight occupying five seconds.—*N. Haven Herald.*

Death by Drowning on the Highway.—The body of a man named Lee, a resident, of West Newbury, was found on the road near Common Pasture lying with his head in the water, and his feet on the bank. His horse and wagon were near by, the horse standing, and the wagon upright, but both in the water. It is probable that in the rain storm of the night previous, he had driven off the road, and was thrown from the wagon.—*Newburyport Herald.*

American Copper.—A late number of the Wisconsin Enquirer says, that Messrs. W. Alford and P. W. Thomas, of New Baltimore, in that territory, have met with complete success in their experiments on smelting copper ore. They constructed a very simple furnace, which cost only ten dollars, in which they smelted, on the 28th of September last, 2508 lbs. of ore, from which they obtained nearly 700 lbs. of good pig copper, pronounced by competent judges to be superior to the South American pig copper. The time occupied in procuring from the ore the above amount of copper was only nine hours. Neither Mr. Alford nor Mr. Thomas had any experience in the business of smelting, and the result isjustly deemed a matter of great consequence to that territory, which abounds in rich copper ore.

An ordinary watch will make 432,000 beats in the 24 hours, and the balance or swig will perform a distance of seven miles in the same time.

The American Cotton Trade.—From a report made to Congress by the Secretary of the Treasury in 1830, it appears that in the year 1791 the State of Georgia produced about 1,500,000 pounds of cotton. In 1801 the States of North Carolina, Virginia and Tennessee, had embarked in the same cultivation, the former having produced 4,000,000 pounds, Virginia 5000,000, and Tennessee 1,000,000. Ten years afterwards tracts of land were colonized upon the banks of the Mississippi. In the year 1821, 20,000,000 lbs. were produced in the State of Alabama, and 10,000,000 pounds in Mississippi. Florida and Arkansas soon followed in the production of the staple. The following is a table showing the comparative growth in the several cotton-growing States, at intervals of ten years, from 1791 to 1834:

Relative proportions of Cotton grown in the different States.

Years.	Virginia.	North Carolina.	South Carolina.	Georgia.	Florida.	Alabama.	Tennessee.	Mississippi.	Louisiana.
1791	—	—	1½	0½	—	—	—	—	—
1801	5	4	20	20	—	—	1	—	—
1811	8	7	40	40	—	—	3	—	2
1821	12	10	50	50	—	20	20	10	10
1826	25	18	70	70	2	45	45	30	38
1833	13	10	73	73	15	50	65	70	55
1834	10	9½	65	65½	20	45	85	85	62

We annex another table which shows, in general terms, the amount of cotton grown in the world during the same period, exhibiting at the same time the relative proportion produced by the U. States.

Millions of pounds grown in various parts of the World.

Years.	The World.	United States.	Brazil.	West Indies.	Egypt.	Rest of Africa.	India.	Rest of Asia.	Mexico and S. America.
1791	490	2	22	12	1	46	130	190	68
1801	520	48	36	10	1	45	160	160	56
1811	555	80	35	12	85	44	170	146	57
1821	630	180	32	10	6	40	175	135	44
1831	820	385	38	9	18	36	180	115	35
1834	900	460	30	8	25½	34	185	110	35

The Sea Island now forms but a small portion of the cotton production. In 1834, the export of this species of cotton was $8,085,000, and during the following year it was $7,752,936—the whole of it being produced in South Carolina and Georgia. The production will doubtless be somewhat extended hereafter in Florida, but nature has assigned very strict limits to the growth of the Sea Island plant. The export of it during a period of twenty years, has been, on an average, eight millions pounds per annum, the principal part of which has been carried to England.—*Savannah Republican.*

The Freshet at the South.—We learn from L. O. Reynolds, Esq., engineer-in-chief, who was in Macon at the time of the flood, that it did immense damage to the planters in the vicinity, of the Oconee, Ocmulgee, and Ogechee rivers. On the Commissioners' Creek, ten mills have been carried away. Many other mills on other streams have been swept off. Numbers of cattle have been downed. On one island in the Oconee 700 head of cattle were destroyed, and several persons have lost 100 head. Valuable lands on the rivers have been much impaired in value, if not totally destroyed by the washing of sand over the surface.—*Sav. Georgian.*

Aggressive Progress of Russia.—Within a period of fifty-four years the total acquisitions of Russia equalled her whole European empire before that time. The acquisitions from Sweden equalled the now kingdom of Sweden; from Poland, a territory equal to the Austrian Empire; from European Turkey, a country equal to Prussia, exclusive of the Rhenish provinces; from Asiatic Turkey, a territory equal to the German small states, Rhenish, Prussia, Holland, and Belgium; from Persia, an extent of country equal to England; and from Tartary a country equal to European Turkey, Greece, Italy, and the whole of Spain. The Russian frontier has been advanced by these acquisitions about 700 miles towards Berlin, Dresden, Munich, Vienna, and Paris; 500 miles to Constantinople; 60 miles to Stockholm, and about 1,000 miles to Teheran. The estimated population of Russia in 1689, at the accession of Peter I, was 15,000,000; at the accession of Catharine II., in the year 1762, it was 25,000,000, and at her death, in 1792, it was 36,000,000; whilst at the death of Alexander, in 1825, it was 58,000,000.

A Broken Heart.—A young girl, a German, died lately at Baltimore, under circumstances deeply affecting. She was engaged to be married to a young man of Philadelphia, who, for reasons best known to himself, communicated to her a short time since, his intention of abandoning her. On receiving this information she became the child of sorrow and despair for ten days, when reason left its seat, and she became an awful maniac, unceasingly calling on her lover till she died.

The Nine-Months' Law.—Mr. Worden, from a majority of the judiciary committee, to which were referred the numerous petitions to repeal the law allowing slaves to be held in this State for the period of nine months—submitted a report in writing, favorable to the prayer of the petitoners, concluding with recommending the passage of a bill, entitled "an act to repeal certain parts of the Revised Statutes."—*Albany Argus.*

Steam Engines in Belgium.—At the close of last year there were 1,100 steam engines at work in Belgium; two-thirds of which were employed in the province of Liege. A large portion of the engines exceed 100 horse power; many of them are of 150 to 200, and some of 300 horse power. The whole consume together, annually, 180,000 tons of coal, being nearly one-fourth of the entire consumption of the kingdom. Before the revolution, in 1830, the consumption of coal by steam engines did not amount to one-sixth of what it is at present.

A Tyrannical Majority.—A man who was apparently more of a wit than a madman, but who, notwithstanding, was confined to a madhouse, being asked how he came there, answered, "Merely a dispute of words; I said that all men were mad, and all men said that I was mad, and the majority carried the point."

Royal Marines.—It is currently reported that this corps, the first to be in the fight, the last to be out of it, will be rendered still more efficient by being armed with the percussion musket, thus making their already destructive fire more rapid and less failing

At the recent anniversary meeting of the literary and philosophical society of Tynemouth, Miss Harriet Martineau, who is now located in that pleasant village, was elected an honorary member of that institution.

Turkish Diplomacy.—"His Excellency Nouri Effendi, Ambassador from the Ottoman Porte, had yesterday a private audience of the King, at which he delivered to his Majesty a letter from the Sultan Abd-ul-Medjid, announcing the birth of his two children, a Prince and a Princess."—*Journal des Débats, Paris paper.*

The President of the United States has also just received a similar letter from the Sultan of the Ottomans. In the language of diplomacy, letters announcing events connected with the family of a Savereign are called *lettres de notification.* They are written by Sovereigns to each other, and their Ministers resident at the foreign Court are charged to deliver them in person—*que les Souverains s'ecrivent, et que leurs Ministres sont charges de remettre au Souverain aupres duquel, ils resident.*

The Ottoman Government having no Minister resident at Washington, Sultan Abd-ulMedjid's letter

From the American Common-place Book of Poetry.

The Soul's Defiance.

This poem was written many years ago, and written from experience and feeling. There is a very remarkable grandeur and power in the sentiments, sustained as they are by an energy of expression well suited to the spirit's undaunted defiance of misfortune.

I said to sorrow's awful storm,
That beat against my breast,
Rage on—thou may'st destroy this form,
And lay it low at rest;
But still the spirit that now brooks
Thy tempest raging high,
Undaunted, on its fury looks
With steadfast eye.

I said to penury's meagre train,
Come on—your threats I brave;
My last poor life-drop you may drain,
And crush me to the grave;
Yet still the spirit that endures,
Shall mock your force the while,
And meet each cold, cold grasp of yours
With bitter smile.

I said to cold Neglect and Scorn,
Pass on—I heed you not;
Ye may pursue me till my form
And being are forgot;
Yet still the spirit which you see
Undaunted by your wiles,
Draws from its own nobility
Its high-born smiles.

I said to Friendship's menaced blow,
Strike deep—my heart shall bear;
Thou canst but add one bitter wo
To those already there;
Yet still the spirit that sustains
This last severe distress,
Shall smile upon its keenest pains,
And scorn redress.

I said to death's uplifted dart,
Aim sure—O why delay!
Thou wilt not find a fearful heart—
A weak reluctant prey;
For still the spirit firm and free,
Triumphant in the last dismay,
Wrapt in its own eternity,
Shall smiling pass away.

From the Boston Morning Post.

The Sum of Life.

BY J. O. ROCKWELL.

Searcher of Gold—whose days and nights
All waste away in anxious care,
Estranged from all life's pure delights,
Unlearned in all that is most fair;
Who sailest not with easy glide,
But delvest in the depth of tide,
And strugglest in the foam—
Oh, come and view this land of graves,
Death's northern sea of frozen waves,
And mark thee out thy home.

Lover of Women—whose sad heart
Wastes like a fountain in the sun,
Clings most where most its pain doth start,
Dies by the light it lives upon—
Come to the land of graves! for here
Are Beauty's smile and Beauty's tear,
Gathered in holy trust;—
Here slumber forms as fair as those
Whose cheeks, now living, shame the rose—
Their glory turned to dust.

Lover of Fame—whose foolish thought
Steals onward from the wave of Time—
Tell me, what goodness hath it brought
Atoning for that restless crime!
The spirit mansion desolate
That opens to the storms of fate,
The absent soul in fear;
Bring home thy thoughts, and come with me,
And see where all thy pride must be—
Searcher of Fame, look here!

And Warrior—thou of sunny plume,
That goest at the bugle's call—
Come and look down—this lonely tomb
Shall hold thee and thy glories all;
The haughty brow, the manly frame,
The daring deeds, the sounding fame,
Are trophies but for Death!
And millions who have toiled like thee
Are stayed, and here they sleep;—and see!
Does Glory lend them breath?

The Blind Boy.

The day was bright and beautiful—
The boys to play had gone—
Save one, who sat beside the door,
Dejected and alone;
And as the tone of merry sport
Came faintly to his ear,
He sighed, and from his swelling lids
He brushed the falling tear.

His little heart was rent with pain—
He could not join their play;
He could not run about the fields,
And by the brook side stray:
The rolling hoop—the bounding ball—
The kite borne by the wind—
The acorn burnt, were naught to him,
For he alas! was blind.

He could not see the setting sun,
Nor watch the glowing skies,
The beauty of the moon and stars
Fell not upon his eyes.
The rainbow when it spanned the clouds
Was lost unto his sight—
And waving woods, and sparkling streams—
For all to him was night!

These truths came fresh into his mind,
While sitting thus apart:
No wonder that the tear-drop fell,
And heavy was his heart.
Ah! little did the youthful throng,
Whose hearts were full of joy,
Reflect upon the lonely state,
Of that poor sightless boy!

MISCELLANEOUS.

Rev. Edward Irving.

An eminent man of our times, whom I came to know in my later visits to London, was the Rev. Edward Irving. He, unfortunately for his own reputation, sinned so enormously against prudence, and indeed against all sanity of mind, during the latter part of his career; his writings and his actions were so equally indicative of an unsettled intellect; that, with most people, this sad revolution in his nature has availed to extinguish the recollection of that unequaled splendor of appearance with which he convulsed all London at his first *debut*. He was, unquestionably, by many, many degrees, the greatest orator of our times. Of him, indeed, more than of any man whom I have seen throughout my whole experience, it might be said, with truth and with emphasis, that he was a Boanerges, a son of thunder; and, in a sense, even awful and unhappy for himself, it might be affirmed that he had a demon within himself. Doubt there can now be none that he was insane, or partially so, from the very first. Not many weeks after his first burst upon the metropolis, I had the pleasure of meeting him at a dinnner party. He was in exuberant spirits; and he strode about the drawing room, before dinner, with the air of one who looked upon himself as clothed with the functions of Jonah sent to Nineveh, or of Paul upon a celestial mission to the Gentiles. He talked a good deal of phrenology, and in the tone of one who had entirely adopted its great leading doctrines. My head, with a very slight apology for doing so, he examined: his report, being somewhat flattering, I shall not repeat, further than that "conscientiousness" was found in great strength, and "veneration," which were the chief *moral* indications that he detected. We walked homewards together; and, as it happened that our roads coincided for three miles or more, we had a good deal of conversation. In one thing he thoroughly agreed with me, viz., in disliking common literary society, by comparison with that of people less pretending, left more to the impulses of their natural, unchecked feelings and entaining opinions less modeled upon what they read. One ebullition of his own native disposition was, however, not very amiable. Near Charing Cross, a poor houseless female vagrant came up to us and asked charity. Now, it was in no respect surprising to me, that Mr. Irving should refuse to give her anything, knowing that so many excellent people systematically set their faces against street alms; and a man, the most kind-hearted in the world, whose resources are limited, may very reasonably prefer throwing whatever he has at his disposal into the channels of well organized charitable institutions. Not, therefore, the refusal, but the manner of the refusal, it was which surprised me. Mr. Irving shook off the poor shivering suppliant, whose manner was timid and dejected, with a roughness that would have better become a parish beadle towards a stout masterful beggar, counterfeiting the popular character of shipwrecked mariner Yet I am far from thinking, or wishing to insinuate, that Edward Irving was deficient in benignity. It was the overmastering demoniac fervor of his nature, the constitutional riot of his blood, more than any harshness of disposition, which prompted his fierce refusal. It is remarkable, and I mention it as no proof of any sagacity of myself, but, on the contrary, as a proof of broad and palpable indications, open and legible to him who ran, that from what I saw of Mr. Edward Irving at this first interview, I drew an augury, and immediately expressed it to more than one friend, that he was destined to a melancholy close of his career in lunacy. I drew my judgment from the expression and the peculiar restlessness of his eye, combined with the untamable fever of his manner, and his evident craving after intense states of excitement. I believe that public applause, or at least public sympathy with his own agitated condition of feeling, and public attention, at any rate to himself, as a great moral power thundering and lightening through the upper regions of the London atmosphere, really became indispensable to his comfort. The effect of his eloquence, great as that certainly was had been considerably exaggerated to the general estimate, by the obstacles opposed to the popular curiosity, in the mere necessities of the narrow chapel within which he preached. Stories of carriage pannels beaten in, chapel windows beaten out, as entrances for ladies of rank and distinguished senators—such stories to awaken the public interest, and then (as consequences of that interest, which reacted to sustain and widen it) stories of royal princesses, lord chancellors, and prime ministers, going, in spite of all difficulties, to hear the new apostle of the North—these things procured for Mr. Irving, during the early noviciate of his London career, if not great audiences, (which, numerically speaking, his chapel would not have admitted,) yet so memorable a conflict of competition for the small space available to those who had no private right of admission, that inevitably the result was misunderstood, or, at least, misappreciated by the public. The smaller was the disposable accommodation, so much the hotter was the contest: and thus a small chapel, and a small congregation told more effectually in his favor, more emphatically proclaimed his sudden popularity, than the largest could have done. Meantime, the presbytery, availing themselves of the sudden enthusiasm called into life by this spendid meteor, collected large subscriptions for a new chapel. This, being built upon a scale proportioned to the money, offered ample accommodation to the public curiosity. That feeling could not wholly have subsided; but many, like Wilberforce, had found themselves sufficiently gratified by a single experience of Mr. Irving's powers; others upon principle, were unwilling to leave their old pastors—not to mention that, for the majority, this would have involved a secession from the particular creed to which they adhered; and when deductions were made from Mr. Irving's audiences, upon these and other accounts, those who still went as extra auditors were no longer numerous enough, now that they were diffused through a large chapel, to create the former tumultuous contests for admission. The enthusiasm of the public had now subsided and settled into a condition more uniform, and no longer capable of holding up a mirror which reflected Mr. Irving's own intense state of exaltation. It was the state of collapse which succeeded in his mind, the want of correspondence which he found between the public zeal to be taught or moved and his own to teach or move; this it was, I hardly doubt, which drove him into those crazy speculations which eventually cost him the general respect, and led to an open breach between himself and the trustees for the management of the property embarked upon the chapel. Unable to win the popular astonishment by the legitimate display of his extraordinary powers, he attempted to secure the same end by extravagance. The whole extent of this extravagance, it is true that he did not perceive; for his mind was unhinged. But still the insanity, which had preyed upon him from the very first, lay more in his moral nature and in a disease of his will than in the functions of his intellect. Disappointment, vexation of heart, wounded pride, and, latterly, perhaps, some tinge of remorse for the abuse which he had made of his magnificent endowments, all combined, with the constitutional fever in his blood, to sap his health and spirits. That he was very unhappy, latterly, I have no doubt; nor was I, for my part, ever called upon to feel so powerfully the conviction that here was a ruined man of genius, and a power in the first rank of great moral agencies, an orator the most Demosthenic of our age, descending rapidly to night and utter extinction, as during the whole latter year of Edward Irving's troubled existence. I am not singular in my estimate of him as an orator: Mr. Canning, a most accomplished orator himself, and, as a great *artist*, the first orator of our times, but perhaps, for that very reason, less likely to do full justice in a case of power that was altogether natural, and no way indebted to art, even he (when visiting Mr. Bolton of Storrs, on Windmore) said something very nearly approaching to what I have here said I did not hear it myself; but I afterwards heard it from many who did. He was the only man of our times who realized one's idea of Paul preaching at Athens, or defending himself before King Agrippa. Terrific meteor! unhappy son of fervid genius, which mastered thyself even more than the rapt audiences which at one time hung upon thy lips! were the cup of life once again presented to thy lips, wouldst thou drink again; or wouldst thou rather turn away from it with shuddering abomination? Sleep, Boanerges! and let the memory of man settle only upon thy collossal powers, without a thought of those intellectual aberrations which were more powerful for thy own ruin, than for the misleadiug of others!—*Tait's Edinburgh Magazine for Oct.*

From the New Yorker.

The Chinese as they are.

Of no people is our knowledge so limited, and of none are our opinions so erroneous, as of the Chinese. Our geographers, while they have given with fidelity the gigantic dimensions of the empire, have cast over the map in which it is delineated, the deep shadow which designates the countries of semi-barbarous nations; and travellers, from Marco Polo down to the missionary Gutzlaff, have, with few exceptions, helped to pile up the tower of prejudice from whose height the Celestial Empire has been viewed and condemned. A recent English publication on the Mis-translation of Chinese Documents and the Causes of the Present Difficulties, furnishes some information which may lead to a rectitude of opinion respecting the Chinese which has not hitherto obtained, and we make use of its statements to disabuse the minds of our readers of some of the most common errors in regard to this remarkable people.

The Empire of China is now the oldest in the world, and this fact alone is sufficient to excuse the assumption of its inhabitants that it is superior to the European nations. As early as the foundation of Thebes, the Chinese had a settled form of government, and while Egypt, Greece and Rome have had their rise and fall, they have maintained a high state of civilization, from which if they have not advanced they have not receded. The common opinion that they claim to have had a national existence so long ago that no reasonable person can credit their chronicles is false; they have, indeed, a fabulous period, as had the Egyptians and the Greeks, but their standard authors pretend to no authentic history farther back than three thousand years. The history of the Hea dynasty is, unquestionably, excepting the Bible, the oldest record of events extant. The founders of the monarchy are said to have tolerated no impiety, and to have governed with a rule truly paternal, and it is by a reference to their era, when prince and people felt bound to obey the laws to avert the ire of Heaven, that the present writers explain the origin of the term 'Celestial' as applied to the empire. In all the Chinese histories civil capacities are ranked higher than military; and the most peaceful reigns have been denominated the most glorious. The arts of literature in China are almost as old as the monarchy. Printing from wooden blocks was certainly known to the Chinese many centuries before the Christian era, though the invention is but four hundred years old in Europe, and paper, of the same quality as that now in use, was manufactured as early as the first ages of Rome. The Chinese press has been comparatively more free than that of Europe, and literature has been almost a national pursuit. Works on every variety of subjects are numerous, and whatever merit they possess, the scholars have yet to be found by whom it can fairly be appreciated. Literary talent is encouraged and rewarded by the Government, the common people are fond of reading, and the surest pathway to official station is through distinguished genius and scholarship. Beside the work to which we have referred, we have the high authority of McCulloch for the opinion that education is more encouraged and favored in China than even in Prussia. Schools for youth are abundant in every part of the empire; and education is so general and its cost so reasonable, that reading and writing may almost be said to be universal.—Language is taught to very young pupils by means of rude pictures, which represent the names of the chief objects in nature and art.—Then follows the summary of infant erudition, conveyed in chiming lines. They soon after proceed to the Four Books, which contain the doctrines of Confucius, and which, with the 'Five Classics,' subsequently added, are, in fact, the Chinese Scriptures. Writing is taught by tracing the characters with a hair-pencil, on transparent paper placed over the copy. This is a most important part of Chinese education, for no man who does not write a good hand can lay claim to literary distinction. Females are allowed to acquire reading and writing. The schools established all over the empire are superintended by various officers appointed by government. In every district there is a sort of literary chancellor; but early aspirants are examined by superintendents, who make the circuit of their districts twice a year for that purpose.—The pupils they approve of repair to the chief, and should they pass that ordeal, and thus obtain the approbation of the officers of their native district, they are eligible for the literary honors of the state. To procure the highest state offices, an examination before the national college is necessary. Every literary honor confers the title of mandarin, and each degree is distinguished by a difference of the dress, which is, in some instances, very splendid.

The Chinese system of government, contrary to the generally received opinion, is favorable to the industry of the people, and the extent to which it has been supposed population throughout the empire presses upon the means of subsistence, is an entre delusion. The working classes are more contented than those in Europe or America, the rights of property are as much respected there as in the most Christian communities, and there is a large and intelligent middling class, composed of merchants, artisans and landed proprietors. Any person who will examine the most authentic notices of the Chinese, by their own or foreign writers, must be convinced that they rank sufficiently high to claim from the Europeans and Americans a respectful observance of their laws and usages when in their own ports. The ridiculous idea that the Chinese are every way inferior to the Caucasian race, and so little acquainted with the arts of civilization that the English are justified in treating the Viceroy of Canton, a city as large as London, with as little ceremony as they would an African chief, has been the chief cause of the present difficulties. If there has been a display of arrogance on the part of Chinese officers, there has been a greater display of the same quality on the part of the English. The Chinese have been less ignorant of the institutions of Europe than the Europeans have of those of China. The best informed hong-merchants of Canton and the principal mandarins do not hesitate to declare their belief of the superiority of many foreign nations in some of the arts, but foreigners uniformly treat the pretensions of the Chinese with a studied contempt.

The Chinese language is not easily learned, and very few of the interpreters employed by the English and Americans understand its first principles. The official documents of the Emperor and the Viceroy, have the appearance, in translation, of labored attempts at bombast, while if correctly rendered they would possess not less dignity than our own state papers. It is our ignorance alone of the Chinese language that has led us to conclude that the Chinese are wanting in courtesy and attention to foreigners, or are in habit of using nick-names and insulting expressions. So far from this being the case, they have a proverb which says 'He that spits dirt first, defiles his own mouth.' Offence was taken recently at a proclamation stuck up on the walls of the British factory at Canton, by which it was supposed some insult was intended: the reply of the Hoppo was, 'It has been posted there every year for the last thirty years; why did you not earlier discover and represent this imaginary grievance?' Offence has sometimes been taken because the English have been called Hung-maou-kwei, which has commonly been translated 'red-haired devils.' This figurative expression, used by the Chinese, means 'red-haired people,' to distinguish the English from themselves—a race of black-haired people, which they are proud of being styled.

We could easily fill a page with notices of the most absurd yet common errors in translations which intelligent linguists have recently pointed out. The Viceroy of Canton, in a proclamation issued last year, complains of the English superintendent's ignorance of the true principles of National justice, and expresses a confidence that the intelligent portion of the countrymen of the foreign residents at Canton will acknowledge the wisdom of the Chinese policy. It is not doubtful that this would be acknowledged by all, if the Chinese character and government were understood, and umpires could divest themselves of the prejudices which a hundred years' mistranslations and misrepresentations have created.

Awful and Sublime.

Extract of a letter in the New-York Evangelist, from Rev. Titus Coan, dated

Hilo, (Sandwich Islands,) July 17, 1840.

"While absent at a general meeting, a terrific volcanic eruption took place at Puna, one part of my parish, and about 20 miles from our station. For about two weeks a large part of Puna, a district of about 50 miles long, was so enveloped in smoke as to hide the luminaries of heaven, by day and by night; while all eastern Hawaii, which was not covered with smoke, was rendered lighter than a full moon could make it in a cloudless sky.

The volcano burst out some 20 miles in the interior, and spreading into a river from one to three miles wide, and of great depth, rolled down its molten flood to the sea, when, leaping a precipice of 50 or 100 feet, it poured a vast cataract of fire into the ocean, with vivid glare, and fearful detonations, throwing up immense rocks to a great height, and filling the air with ashes, cinders, and spray, for the distance of 10 miles along the coast. Three hills of several hundred feet elevation were formed in the sea, the water of the ocean was heated for 20 miles along the coast, and multitudes of fish were killed. Several villages were destroyed, and many plantations, beside a vast tract of wild land, submerged in the burning flood; but no lives were lost. The people fled and escaped. The molten stream flowed two or three weeks, and then ceased; all is now quiet again. How long it will remain so, we know not; nor do we know where the subterranean fires of these Islands will next discharge themselves. It may be under our dwellings. There are three old craters within a few rods of us. But on this subject we have no fears, for the Lord of Hosts is with us. The God of Jacob is our refuge.—The Lord looketh on the earth and it trembleth; He toucheth the hills and they smoke; the mountains melt like wax, they flow down at His presence. We *feel* the heaving earth, we see the mountains melted and carried into the sea, and yet we will not fear, for we can say of Him who does it—

"This awful God is ours,
Our Father and our Lord."

Aaron Burr and his Daughter.

The history of every nation is fraught with romantic incidents. England has the story of her Alfred, Scotland of her Wallace, her Bruce, her Mary, and her Charles Stuart, Ireland her Fitzgerald, France her man with the Iron Mask and Mary Antoinette, Poland her Thaddeus, and Russia her Siberian Exiles. But we very much doubt whether any exceeds in interest the singularly touching story of Aaron Burr and his highly accomplished, his beautiful and devoted daughter Theodosia. The rise and fall of Burr in the affections of his countrymen, are subjects of deep historical interest. At one time we see him carried on the wave of popular favor to such giddy heights that the Presidency itself seemed almost within his grasp, which he only missed to become the second officer in the new Republic. He became Vice President of the United States. How rapid his rise! and then his fall, how sudden, how complete! In consequence of his duel with Hamilton, he becomes a fugitive from justice—is indicted for murder by the Grand Jury of New-Jersey—flies to the South—lives for a few months in obscurity, until the meeting of Congress, when he comes forth and again takes the chair as President of the Senate. After his term expires he goes to the West, becomes the leading spirit in a scheme of ambition to invade Mexico—(very few will now believe that he sought a dismemberment of the Union)—is brought back a prisoner of state to Richmond, charged with high treason—is tried and acquitted—is forced to leave his native land and go to Europe. In England he is suspected, and retires to France, where he lives in reduced circumstances, at times not being able to procure a meal of victuals. After an absence of several years, he finds means to return home—lands in Boston without a cent in his pocket, an object of distrust to all. Burr had heard no tidings of his daughter, since his departure from home; he was anxious to hear from her, her husband, and her boy, an only child, in whom his whole soul seemed bound up. The first news he heard was that his grand-child died while he was an outcast in foreign lands, which stroke of Providence he felt keenly, for he dearly loved the boy. Theodosia, the daughter of Burr, was the wife of Governor Allston, of South Carolina. She was married young, and while her father was near the zenith of his fame. She was beautiful and accomplished, a lady of the finest feelings, an elegant writer, a devoted wife, and fond mother, and a most dutiful and loving daughter, who clung with redoubled affection to the fortunes of her father, as the clouds of adversity gathered around him, and he was deserted by the friends whom he formerly cherished. The first duty Burr performed after his arrival here, was to acquaint Mrs. Allston of his return. She immediately wrote back that she was coming on to see him, and would meet him in a few weeks in New-York. This letter was couched in the most affectionate terms, and is another evidence of the purity and power of woman's love.

In the expectation of seeing his daughter in a few days, Burr received much pleasure. She had become his all on earth. Wife, grand-child, friends and all were gone: his daugher alone remained to cheer and solace the evening of his life, and to welcome him back from his exile.—Days passed on—then weeks; and weeks lengthened into months, yet naught was heard of Mrs. Allston. Burr grew impatient, and began to think that she too had left him, so apt is misfortune to doubt the sincerity of friendship. At length he received a letter from Mr. Allston, enquiring if his wife had arrived safe, and stating that she had sailed from Charleston some weeks previous, in a vessel chartered by him on purpose to convey her to New-York. Not receiving any tidings of her arrival, he was anxious to learn the cause of her silence. What had occurred to delay the vessel?—why had it not arrived?—these were questions which Burr could ask himself, but which no one could answer.

The sequel is soon told. The vessel never arrived. It undoubtedly foundered at sea, and all on board perished. No tidings have ever been heard respecting the vessel, the crew, or the daughter of Aaron Burr—all were lost.—This sad bereavement was only required to fill Burr's cup of sorrow. "The last link was broken" which bound him to life. The uncertainty of her fate but added to the poignancy of his grief. Hope, the last refuge of the afflicted, became extinct when years had rolled on, and yet no tidings of the loved and lost one were gleaned.

Burr lived in New-York until the year 1836, (we believe,) when he died. The last years of his life were passed in comparative obscurity.—Some few old friends who had never wholly deserted him, were his companions; they closed his eyes in death, and followed his body to the grave, where it will rest till the trump of the Almighty shall call it into judgment.—*Concord (Mass.) Republican.*

Religion in France.

The absence of political power attached to any particular church in France, carries with it this good, that it procures a good degree of tolerance distinct from indifference, which acts as a humanizing ingredient in the national character. Not that the French Roman Catholic clergy are tolerant; far from it: not that the decided unbeliever is tolerant; this is equally an impossibility: but that there is much less of social bickerings, domestic heart-burnings, and local jealousies caused by differences of religious belief, than in most other nations of Europe. As far as the French are indifferent to religion, it is a great misfortune and curse to them, for it renders them indifferent to and incapable of morality, and it tends to their national degeneration; but as far as they are tolerant, it is a blessing, for it civilizes them as a people, soothes their political passions, and leads them to religious inquiry. One of the most distinguished members of the Protestant community in France—one of the most tolerant, one of the most amiable, and, at the same time, virtuous of her citizens, is M. Guizot. He is, at the same time, the most eloquent orator in the legislative body, and of more individual political weight than any other native of France. This eminent philosopher and historian had a rare merit of soon appreciating as it deserved, that revolution which he was unable to prevent, and the still rarer courage to denounce it in the Chamber of Deputies in its true character, as 'a national catastrophe,' the evil effects of which it was high time to remedy, while the good ones were turned to the best account. M. Guizot who has long been looked up to as the leader of the Protestant party in France, is a great advocate for the political existence of the Roman Catholic church as a civilizing agent, as an element of order in the French body politic. In his essay on Catholicism, Protestantism, and Philosophy, he thus expressed a summary of his views:

"French society is suffering from moral maladies of very different natures. There are some who are tired and disgusted with uncertainty and disorder of mind: they have need of a port where no tempest can penetrate—of a light that never flickers, and of a hand that will never let them stumble. They demand from religion support for their weakness, rather than ailment for their activity. It is requisite that religion, while she elevates, should also sustain them, and while touching their hearts, should also subjugate their intelligence; it is necessary for them, that while she animates their internal life, she should, at the same time, and above all things, give them a profound sentiment of security. Catholicism is marvellously adapted to this turn of mind; so frequent of occurrence in our days. It possesses satisfaction for such desires, and remedies for such sufferings; it is able at the same time to conquer and to please; its anchors are strong, and its prospects full of attraction for the imagination. It excels in giving occupation to the soul, at the same time that it allows it to rest; it is acceptable after a period of great fatigue, for, without leaving the soul to become cold or inactive, it eases it of much labor, and lightens for it the burden of responsibility." . . . .

"For other minds also diseased, and also estranged from religion, more of intellectual and personal activity is required. These also experience the want of returning to God and the faith; but they have got a habit of examining all things for themselves, and of admitting only what they have acquired by their own labors. They are anxious to fly from incredulity; but their liberty is at the same time dear to them, and their tendency towards religion is caused more by thirst than by lassitude, It is to souls such as these that Protestantism finds access, since, while it tells them of piety and faith, it allows and encourages them to make use of their reason and their liberty. It is accused of being cold, but this is an error. Protestantism, by making a constant appeal to free and personal inquiry, penetrates far into the soul, and readily becomes an in-dwelling faith, in which the activity of the intelligence keeps up the fervor of the heart, instead of extinguishing it. Catholicism and Protestantism should never lose sight of the condition of French society, since it is upon that they have got to act. It is not between Catholicism and Protestantism that the contest is now going on—the contest of ideas and mastery;—impiety and immorality, these are the enemies which one and the other are equally called on to contend with: to reanimate religious life, this is the work to which they are called—a work of immensity, for the evil itself is immense. An examination ever so slight of the moral state of these masses of men, with the mind so fluctuating and the heart so void, who have so many desires and so few hopes, and who pass so rapidly from fever of the soul to torpidity, is enough to fill one with melancholy and alarm."—*Blackwood.*

Cringing always begets arrogance, and servility invites over-bearing. The man who understands his own rights and performs his own duties, and makes those about him sensible of it, will very rarely have cause to complain that his rights are not respcted by others.

Benevolence.—No disposition is considered as more important, in the realization of genuine Christianity, than true benevolence; amid all the glories of religion, this is the most resplendent. *Repentance* wears a countenance smiling in grief, and placid in tears, "looking unto him who has been pierced." *Faith* stands on the rock of eternal ages, and keeps her eye fixed on the cross of Christ. *Hope* reclines upon her anchor, whilst storms and billows howl around. But *Benevolence*, surrounded with the atmosphere of heaven, smiles with ineffable beneficence; stretches out her hands to relieve the wants of mankind; and mingling her praises with those of the celestial world, attunes her songs to the melody which encircles the throne of God.—*Foster.*

FAIR

FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE

American Anti-Slavery Society.

In Accordance with the recommendation of the Manhattan Anti-Slavery Socity, there will be a Fair held in the city of New-York during the week of the anniversaries, in May next. The friends of the anti-slavery cause are solicited for contributions, either in money or goods. Articles of clothing,—such as hats, shoes, stockings, 'kerchiefs, gloves, children's frocks, aprons, shirts, fancy articles, toys, &c. &c., will be gratefully acknowledged. A more particular list will be made out, of the most desirable articles, and it is hoped that the anti-slavery women of the country will be prompt in forwarding such as they can, and in promoting the most liberal contributions.

Almira Van Rensselaer, Lydia Maria Child,
Rachel Ruby, Anne Warren Weston,
A. H. Gibbons, Anna Bodie,
Mercy Powell, Jane Davis,
M. A. W. Johnson, Thankful H. Southwick.

New-York, March 4, 1841.

Dr. Church's Tooth Powder,

OR THE GREAT TOOTH PRESERVATIVE.

1. It is excellent in cleansing the Teeth and making them white, and preventing their decay. In order to keep the teeth clean and wholesome, the Brush and Powder must be used; for, by the frequent mastication of food, there is a viscid matter which adheres to the teeth, and which, if not removed, causes disease and decay.

2. It is an infallible cure for the Tartar collected on the Teeth, wholly removing it. Now, whenever tartar is suffered to gather, it occasions the swelling and inflaming of the gums, causing absorption and the expulsion of the teeth from the jaws, while it is the source of great pain.

3. It is sure to cause and preserve a sweet breath, and a pleasant taste to the mouth. Sad indeed is the evil, the pain, the destruction of comfort and health, which is brought about by *neglect*. For there is and there can be nothing worse for an individual than a bad breath; yet by overlooking the teeth, how many hundreds and thousands have a disagreeable breath; and when in conversation, even, are conscious of it, and involuntarily turn their heads!—Still, all this can be remedied in a short time, by the application of the powder, so that health, comfort and beauty, and a sweet breath will be in the possession of all

4. It hardens the gums. When the gums are soft and spongy, this powder will make them hard. Nearly one-half of the teeth which are lost, is owing to the disease of the soft and spongy gums, and collection of tartar.

For sale by Gould, Newman & Saxton, corner of Fulton and Nassau streets.

Free Dry Goods.

CALICOES, bleached and unbleached muslins, bleached and unbleached Canton flannel, apron check, colored muslins, printed and plain pongees, bleached, unbleached, mixed, and lead-colored knitting cotton, cotton and linen table diapers, printed and plain grass cloths, wicking and cotton laps, fine linen thread, superfine bed ticking, cotton pantaloon stuffs, men's and women's cotton hose, white and black wadding Also, a variety of silk, linen, and woollen goods, wholesale and retail.

CHARLES WISE,
Corner of Arch & Fifth street.

Philadelphia, 11th mo. 12, 1840.

N. B. Persons from a distance wishing any of the above goods can have them sent, by forwarding their orders to the subscriber. C. WISE.

Garden and Farm Seeds,

WARRANTED THE GROWTH OF 1840.

For sale at the Seed store No. 45 North Market street, Boston.

THE Subscriber has just completed his assortment of seeds for the coming season, and is ready to supply orders to any amount, for farm, garden, and flower seeds, both to traders and to farmers

The seeds offered are selected with great care, raised by experienced seed growers in the vicinity of Boston, New Hampshire, and in Maine, and every precaution has been used to obtain *pure* and *perfect* seeds. It is confident that satisfaction will be given to purchasers

Garden Seeds.

The assortment of garden seeds comprises every variety of seeds that is worthy of cultivation.

Seeds by the quantity, assorted to suit the different markets

Boxes of seeds for retailing, neatly prepared, at 6 cents per paper, with printed directions for their culture, variously assorted, from $10 per box and upwards: a liberal discount will be made to dealers

Farm Seeds.

An excellent and very select assortment of improved field seeds, comprising the best assortment of wheat, rye, barley, corn, oats, grass seeds, root seeds, &c. &c. &c.

Farmers who intend to change their seed, are invited to call and examine.

Flower seeds, roots, shrubs, vines and trees of all kinds furnished to order.

Catalogues of the whole may be obtained on application. Orders by wholesale and retail are respectfully solicited.

CHARLES P. BOSSON, *Seedsman*,
No. 45 North Market street, Boston.

February 18, 1841. 6t

Channing's New Work on EMANCIPATION.

JUST PUBLISHED, by the American Anti-slavery Society, and for sale at the Office, No. 143 Nassau street New-York, Channing's new work on Emancipation, a neat 18 mo. pamphlet of 72 pages. A cheaper publication was never issued from the anti-slavery press. It will be sold at 12 1-2 cents, a single copy, and at 10 dollars a hundred.

Those who wish to supply themselves with this valuable production, would do well to send orders promptly.

Terms Cash only.

CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

Oliver Johnson & Geo. F. White.

THIS Day published, and for sale, by Oliver Johnson, at 143 Nassau street, a duodecimo pamphlet of 48 pages, entitled, "Correspondence between Oliver Johnson and George F. White, a minister of the Society of Friends; with an Appendix." Price 12 1-2 cents single—10 copies for $1.

New-York, Feb. 25.

To Landlords and Tenants.

THE SUBSCRIBER will receive agencies for renting houses, stores, and tenements at Hutson's Intelligence Office, No. 560½ Pearl street. When houses are registered, or application made by tenants, nocharge is made unless suited.

Feb. 25, 1841. P. A. BELL.

BAPTIST ANTI-SLAVERY CORRESPONDENT.

For sale at 143 Nassau street, (price 10 cents single, $6 per hundred,) the Baptist Anti-Slavery Corresponpent, vol. 1, No. 1; containing the reply of the Rev. Elon Galusha, to the letter of Rev. R. Fuller, of South Carolina.

Information Wanted.—Of Edward Powell, and Catharine Crumwell, his sister, formerly of Flatbush, L. I., subsequently of Brooklyn and of this city. Any person knowing either of the above named persons, or their children, will confer a favor by leaving word at this office, or at 61 Cherry street, upon A RELATIVE.

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